

WOODSWORTH

SOCIAL
PIONEER

ZIEGLER

PC
501
W6
256
1934

1934

Ex libris
UNIVERSITATIS
ALBERTAENSIS



Universal Bindery Ltd.

BOOKBINDING - COLORED LETTERS

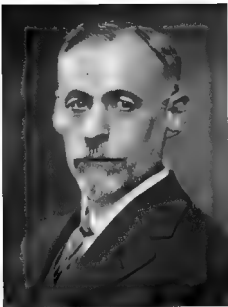
Edmonton, Alberta

p 31

41-47

506
w. 489 m

WOODSWORTH
SOCIAL PIONEER



J. S. W. Greenworth

WOODSWORTH SOCIAL PIONEER

(AUTHORIZED SKETCH)

BY
OLIVE ZIEGLER

FOREWORD
BY DR. SALEM BLAND

ILLUSTRATED

1934

THE ONTARIO PUBLISHING CO., LIMITED
200 ADELAIDE ST. WEST TORONTO

COPYRIGHT, CANADA, 1934
BY
OLIVER KENNEDY

Printed and bound by the T. H. Best Printing Co., Limited, Toronto

UNIVERSITY

OF TORONTO

TO
LUCY L. WOODSWORTH

594490

Suppose that the people of Europe, instead of mistrusting each other, entertaining jealousy of each other, hating each other, became fast friends—suppose they say that before they are French or English or German they are men, and that if nations form countries, human kind forms a family. Suppose that the enormous sums spent in maintaining armies should be spent in acts of mutual confidence. Suppose that the millions that are lavished on hatred, were bestowed on love, given to peace instead of war, given to labour, to intelligence, to industry, to commerce, to navigation, to agriculture, to science, to art. The face of the world would be changed.

—*Victor Hugo.*

To-morrow we shall rediscover man himself and build a civilization worthy of his best. There are deeper wells of greatness in human nature than have so far been suspected . . .

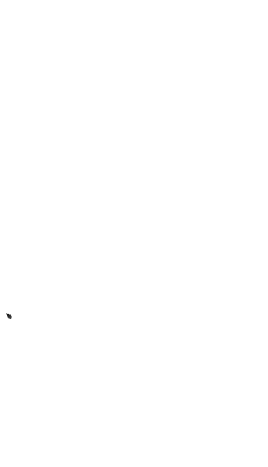
With such a heritage of power there is no room for fear; with such stirrings of the vital instincts of the race, civilization will and must come through. Our despairs are but passing clouds before the vision of the mind.

New thoughts, new ideas, new systems and new hopes are the new-born children of to-day who shall be in command to-morrow.

—*William Irvine, House of Commons, 1932.*

My dream is of a brotherhood of men throughout the world, operated on the basis of the co-operative principle.

—*E. J. Garland, House of Commons, 1934.*



PREFACE

It is, I think, generally recognized that many Canadian citizens of ability and experience are prevented from giving to the country their best service because their work is not understood or their motives are questioned. This seems to be particularly true of men in public life.

This sketch, all too insufficient, of Mr. Woodsworth, has been written with the hope that it may help in making him known to his fellow citizens generally, as he is already known and respected among those who have followed him throughout the years with open and unprejudiced minds. It is the story of an honourable and faithful citizen who is serving his day and generation. A well-known Canadian newspaper man gives the keynote of his character in these significant words "Mr. Woodsworth has always been willing to make personal sacrifices, in the belief that the Kingdom of Heaven can still be brought down to earth."

A word of explanation as to the scope and character of the book is, perhaps, necessary. It has been my endeavour to give the salient facts of Mr. Woodsworth's life and a general outline of his point of view. Every effort has been made to state the events of his extraordinarily interesting career accurately and with the minimum of interpretation so that they may tell their own story. In a sketch

of this kind much valuable material, both biographical and historical, must needs be omitted. This material, however, especially that which covers his work in the House of Commons, is of unique importance to the social and political history of Canada and must some day receive a definitive and more detailed treatment. This it eminently deserves.

If Mr Woodsworth's work is understood, and the policies which he and a great many others are advocating to-day are carefully considered, a great cause will be advanced, namely a Canadian Commonwealth, based on co-operation for the common good. The aim of such a Commonwealth is "the good life" for all.

OLIVE ZIEGLER

Toronto, November, 1934.

A FOREWORD

To many of his contemporaries, it may be, James S. Woodsworth, leader of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, does not seem a very impressive figure compared with the leaders of the two long established, strongly organized and wealthy political parties of Canada, but it is conceivable that history may form a different estimate. At least it cannot be denied that of the three Mr. Woodsworth has shown most faith in to-morrow and it would therefore not seem unjust if to-morrow were to reward this confidence. This too would be conceded by all who know him, whether political friends or foes, that public life in Canada has known no man whose course has been guided by a more unvarying disinterestedness and that it probably would be hard to find any Canadian in public life who has followed his conscience as steadfastly along as thorny and rugged a road.

Such a man is certain to be misunderstood. It would seem therefore urgently imperative that an accurate account should be given of the adventures and the achievements of this man who seems to have been prepared both by favourable and by unfavourable experiences to play for many years to come a notable part in guiding our country in the uncharted seas for which she, in common with most other Western lands, is plainly headed. It is matter for

satisfaction that this task has fallen to competent hands. Mr. Woodsworth's varied career as minister, social worker, dock labourer, Labour lecturer, inmate of jail, member of Parliament, leader of a new party with vast possibilities, has been told by Miss Olive Ziegler of Toronto, with sympathetic insight, conciseness, and literary grace.

I who have known Mr Woodsworth intimately for more than thirty years would express my appreciation of the accuracy of the presentation and of the fine fairness which is manifest, particularly in reporting the episode of the Winnipeg strike, an episode in which it is not easy to preserve a judicial temper. No patriotic Canadian whether sympathetic with Mr. Woodsworth's views or opposed to them, can afford not to read this book.

S. G. BLAND.

CONTENTS

I.	EARLY LIFE	- - - - -	1
	1. Pioneers and Loyalists	- - - - -	3
	2. Student Days	- - - - -	14
	3. The Methodist Ministry	- - - - -	21
II.	LIFE IN PIONEER SOCIAL WORK	- - - - -	25
	1. All Peoples'—A Social Settlement	- - - - -	27
	2. Canadian Welfare League	- - - - -	54
	3. Bureau of Social Research	- - - - -	65
	4. Interim at Gibson's Landing	- - - - -	74
III.	LIFE IN THE LABOUR MOVEMENT	- - - - -	79
	1. Longshoring, Port of Vancouver	- - - - -	81
	2. The Winnipeg Strike	- - - - -	89
	3. The Struggle to Gain a Foothold	- - - - -	109
IV.	LIFE IN PARLIAMENT	- - - - -	115
	1. Reply to the Speech from the Throne, 1934	- - - - -	117
	2. Room 616, The House of Commons	- - - - -	131
	3. Twelve Years in the House	- - - - -	144
	4. The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation	- - - - -	184

ILLUSTRATIONS

J. S. Woodsworth	<i>Frontispiece</i>
	<i>Facing Page</i>
"Applewood," The Shaver Homestead near Toronto, the birthplace of J. S. Woodsworth	5
"The Senior Stick," Wesley College, Winnipeg, 1896	15
Russia in Winnipeg, 1907	28
Lacy L. Woodsworth	88
Mr Woodsworth in his office in the House of Commons, 1934	132
The Chairman of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation. Cartoon by Arch. Dale	191

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

1874	Born, Islington, Ont.
1882	Moved to Portage la Prairie, Man.
1885-1891	School days, Brandon, Man.
1891-1894 } 1894-1896 }	Student, Wesley College, Winnipeg, Man.
1893-1894	
1896	Teacher, Rural Schools, Manitoba.
1896	B.A. Degree, Wesley College, Winnipeg, Man.
1896-1900	Postgraduate Student, Oxford, Eng.
1900	B.D. Degree, Victoria College, Toronto, Ont. Mission Field, Carrievale, Sask.
1901-1902	Minister, Kerwin, Ont.
1902-1906	Associate Minister, Grace Church, Winnipeg.
1904	Marriage to Lucy L. Staples, Cayna, Ont.
1906	Travel in Europe.
1907-1912	Superintendent, All Peoples' Mission, Winnipeg.
1912-1916	Secretary, Canadian Welfare League.
1916-1917	Director, Bureau of Social Research for Governments of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. Conscription Issue—Bureau closed.
1917-1918	Minister, Gibson's Landing, B.C.
1918	Resignation from Ministry of Methodist Church. Longshoreman, Port of Vancouver
1919	Editor, Labour Paper: Winnipeg Strike-Arrest. Travel for Defence Committee.
1920-1921	Struggle to Gain a Foothold.
1921-1922 1921	Member of Parliament, Winnipeg North Centre. Travel in Europe. "Temporary Collaborator" for one month for Assembly of League of Nations.
1922-	Chairman, Co-operative Commonwealth Fede- ration.
1933	Regina Manifesto
1935	Cross: Canada's Involvement in WWII
1940	Ke, go a Party Under
1941	Death
1944	CCF elected in Saskatchewan

I
EARLY LIFE

EARLY LIFE

1. PIONEERS AND LOYALISTS

The roots of the Woodsworth family tree strike deep into Canadian soil. To follow the fortunes of this family from the days of their arrival on this continent to the present time is to see Canadian history in the making at many important points, both in church and state. Unfortunately, like most of the records of the pioneer families of this country, the story is not written in books. The early part has almost entirely faded from the Canadian scene, only a few facts and incidents remaining in the memory of the living to give a faint hint of the vivid original. Turning back the pages in imagination, however, one finds stirring tales of wars and rumours of war, of struggles to conquer inhospitable nature and of efforts to establish homes in the Canadian wilderness.

The earliest known facts, perhaps, concern one of Mr. Woodsworth's great-grandfathers, Richard Watson. Sometime during the latter part of the eighteenth century he left England and settled in New York, then a centre of Loyalist activity. As an aftermath of the American Revolution, all during this period anti-British feelings ran high, but Richard Watson remained loyal to the British cause. After the war of 1812, feeling that he could no

longer endure the humiliations heaped upon the British sympathizers, he decided to follow the example of thousands of his countrymen and cross the line into Canada. Having gathered his family and remaining possessions together he set out, driving his team slowly along one of the old Indian trails, possibly by that time made over into a corduroy road. Whenever the travellers were discovered to be Britishers they were turned out of the inns. Eventually, however, they arrived at York, then a small village of a few hundred people, straggling along the shore of Lake Ontario and hemmed in by the forest.

Richard Watson's daughter, Mary Ann Watson, Mr. Woodsworth's grandmother, who lived to the ripe old age of ninety-three, remembered an incident of this journey and relished telling it. The caravan arrived at the border quite late one evening and the weary travellers were preparing to encamp for the night when an American officer on patrol duty rode up and roughly ordered them to continue on their way. In those romantic days postal rates were tremendous and were paid by, in this case, the unhappy receiver, for Mr. Watson on arrival in York procured a brick, carefully wrapped it, stamped it with his name and sent it to the gallant officer with his compliments. In telling the story Mrs. Woodsworth always ended by saying that her father claimed he had done this before he "got religion."

Mr. Woodsworth's paternal grandfather, Richard Woodsworth, came of sturdy Yorkshire stock. He settled in York and in 1831 married Miss Watson,

the ceremony being performed by the Reverend John Ryerson, brother of the well known Egerton Ryerson. A lay preacher in the Methodist Church and a building contractor of considerable means, he achieved an honourable place in the life of the community. Only recently (June, 1934), to make way for a modern garage, there has been removed the last stone from the old Richmond Street Chapel, built in Toronto in 1844, and for years known as "the cathedral of Methodism." The old brass corner stone plate still bears the names of the ministers who served the chapel and among them appears that of "Ed. Woodsworth, local preacher and trustee and builder."

If one keeps in mind the name of the leader of the Opposition in the present House of Commons (1934) and also remembers that so frequently Mr Woodsworth has been called a radical, the following fact is amusing. Mr. Woodsworth now has in his possession an old sword with wrought iron hilt which belonged to his grandfather, Richard Woodworth. This sword was one of those with which the government of the day armed the loyal citizens of Toronto to withstand the attacks of the rebel forces under William Lyon Mackenzie, the grandfather of the present leader of the Liberal Party. Such is the whirligig of history!

But Richard Woodworth had no military ambitions; he was a man of peace. He was also a man of scrupulous honesty, so much so that, having endorsed a note for a friend who later failed, he made good the note with practically the whole of his for-

tune. As a result of these losses his sons had to fend for themselves. The eldest son, James, Mr. Woodsworth's father, decided to enter the Methodist ministry. Since the need for preachers was considered so urgent he was not permitted to take time off to attend college, but according to the custom of the Church read Theology under the supervision of the District Chairman. On being ordained he was appointed to a charge on the western outskirts of Toronto, where, in due time, he met and married Esther Josephine Shaver.

The Shavers had come from Pennsylvania, another Loyalist stronghold, about 1800, and were given a tract of land at Ancaster, near Hamilton. Two of the sons later moved to the vicinity of Toronto, near what is now Islington. When they arrived that part of the country was a forest; to-day it is considered among Ontario's finest farm lands.

Visiting the farm on a perfect day in early spring, 1934, and wandering beside its brown, cleared fields, one found oneself reflecting upon the life of these Loyalist settlers. Their former town homes or comparatively settled farm communities a recent and painful memory, they began their lives over again. They built their log cabins, then attacked the forest, driving it farther and farther back, and each succeeding year, as a result of their labours, the richly coloured grains took the forest's place. Brick, stone or frame houses followed in time, many of which still stand. "Applewood," the old Shaver homestead, set in a partial frame of spruce trees, is a wonderful old house, Colonial in style, built of

brick made of clay found on the farm, the red colour somewhat toned down by time. For nearly a century it has watched the seasons and three generations come and go—an affecting and dignified expression of the character of those early builders of homes and of Canadian life.

Here, in 1874, J. S. Woodsworth, the subject of this sketch, was born. Every three years, according to Methodist procedure, the family moved to a new charge, but memories of that fine old Ontario farm remain vivid, for as a boy he returned frequently for long and happy holidays. Something of the difficulties and struggles of pioneer life he learned from his grandparents, while relics of an earlier age, such as the old spinning-wheel and iron candle moulds, although by this time not in use in "Applewood," gave him some idea of the conditions of the pioneer period.

In 1882, his father, Reverend James Woodsworth, decided to take his wife and little family and serve the Methodist Church in the new and untried fields of Western Canada, then part of the Toronto Conference. What was it that led this clergyman, gentle, kindly and not physically strong, to set out upon so uncertain an adventure? It was again the pioneer spirit and also the belief that the Christian church should follow and minister to the settlers in the remotest parts to which their adventurous spirits led them. Moreover it was not a narrow denominationalism but a liberal and practical idealism, a conviction, to use his own words, "that the church had a part to play in shaping the life and

institutions of the new country by the operation of educational, moral and religious forces."

In due course, with his wife and family, he arrived at his first Western charge, Portage la Prairie. Here he remained for three years, a testing and difficult time, for following the collapse of the famous, or rather infamous, boom, "nearly all our people became seriously embarrassed financially." In 1885, however, he was assigned to Brandon, one of the most progressive towns in Manitoba. On being appointed Superintendent of Methodist Missions for the Western Provinces, his territory extending at one period from the Great Lakes to the Pacific, he decided to locate permanently in Brandon, a logical point of departure for his extensive travels. So well did he come to know this immense parish that it was said of him, "He carried the map of the West in his head." For thirty years he served Western Canada and the cause of Christianity through the medium of the Methodist Church, and one wonders if there were ever a more loyal or a more devoted servant.

Mrs. Woodsworth was a good friend and companion in all her husband's experiences. Of the character of their family life and of the adventures which inevitably accompanied pioneer days in the West, a quotation from a letter written by her gives the best possible conception. The letter is dated July 7th, 1893, and describes a journey to the Lake Winnipeg Missions, upon which she and the children accompanied her husband.

When we arrived at Selkirk our boat proved to

be a steam barge, every available foot of which was crowded and filled in with cargo, including supplies of lumber for the parsonage at Herens River Methodist Mission, also yearly supplies for Hudson's Bay posts in the far North—sugar, flour, oil, bacon, syrup, pork, tobacco, matches, nails, medicines, paints, dry goods—in short, everything that was necessary for life in the North. No regular accommodation for passengers. You may imagine we were somewhat appalled at the prospect of taking passage with so little accommodation. There was our own family and one missionary in our party; and a Hudson's Bay Factor and his family, besides the crew. After making up our minds to suffer the inconveniences and risks involved we crawled on board climbing over the various obstructions. The Indian deck hands carried our baggage on board. Father and Mr. Semmens went out and bought provisions for the trip—canned goods, ham, bread and hardtack. The captain and mate gave up their two little staterooms right over the boiler. Mr. McDonald, the Hudson's Bay Factor, had a little tent forward on deck, and the men who were going out to build the parsonage and some of the boys crawled under the lumber when the shades of night began to fall. Five of us got into our stateroom, 5 ft. x 6 x 3, and the boat weighed anchor Saturday, 1 a.m. When we awoke in the morning we were already out of the Red River and in Lake Winnipeg. You must not despise this lake of ours, which is three hundred miles long and in the widest place eighty miles wide, dotted with beautiful wooded islands and in places dashing against bold, granite promontories or shelving layers of limestone. As soon as the Indians heard the approach of the boat they jumped into their birch canoes and came hurrying after us. They drew their canoes to the shore and crowded on

board to greet us. Father and I stood on the side of the boat and the Indians came filing along and were introduced to us by Mr. Semmens, who speaks the language. Quite a letce. . . . We visited the Indian tepees, schoolhouse and church, holding a short service in the evening.

The present Chairman of the C. C. F. was one of "the boys" referred to in the letter as crawling "under the lumber when the shades of night began to fall," and he well remembers the experience. He also has vivid recollections of another adventure of his boyhood days when, as a lad of fourteen, he accompanied his father on a month's journey through Alberta and Saskatchewan. Eight hundred miles of this eventful trip was covered by buckboard. In a diary kept by his father, the story is told in part as follows:

It would require an abler pen than mine to describe that morning's experiences—commonplace, I presume, to a Westerner, but new and startling to a tenderfoot. Our conveyance was an old-time buckboard, broader by several inches than our modern standard, admitting of ample storage room for bedding and provisions. These were all in place and tightly secured by ropes before attention was turned to the horses. For some reason Mr. McDougall's regular driving horses were not available. That was a difficulty easily overcome. A few days before our arrival at Morley, Mr. McDougall sent to the range and had several wild horses "roped" or "lassoed." One of these had been "hitched up" a couple of years previously, the others had never had human hands on them. These horses were in training for a few days. On the morning of our start Mr. McDougall, after seeing that all things

were ready on the wagon, and having said good bye to his wife and family, gave his undivided attention to the horses. And they needed all the attention bestowed on them by Mr. McDougall and three other men. Needless to say I was not one of them. With such wild brutes I was absolutely helpless—all agreed to that.

Mrs. MacDougall said to me, "Whatever happens do not speak to John." I had absolute faith in Mr. McDougall's expert horsemanship. Indeed, we had to go with him or not go at all. The men proceeded to the corral and brought out the horses, harnessed one at a time. (The plan was to drive two, with a third as a reserve.) They kicked, reared, struck with their forefeet, etc., but at last were harnessed and stood side by side. Mr. McDougall, in short jacket, long boots and long whip, took charge. He drove them several times around the open space in front of the Mission House. James and I were told to get on board. I mounted the seat, James' place was on the bedding in the rear. The horses were brought to a stand, a man at the head of each, with bridle firmly gripped. The wagon was quietly and cautiously drawn up, the tongue inserted in the ring of the neck yoke, the traces attached to whiffletrees. Mr. McDougall climbed carefully to his place, gathered the lines, braced his feet, and said, "Let go!" And go they did! Off at full gallop, though under control of the cool and expert driver. Thus we started for Calgary. On coming to a long hill, if not too steep our driver would call out, "Now hang on," and away the horses would run at full speed to the bottom. At our first camp our reserve horse made his escape, leaving us no hope of finding him until the next round-up.

Experiences such as the trip on Lake Winnipeg

and the journey by buckboard to Calgary added the spice of excitement to Mr. Woodsworth's boyhood days, but his home was the chief influence—a home which must have been a pleasant combination of piety, idealism, intellectual stimulus and healthy adventure. The children went regularly to school and returned to an orderly environment, with a genial, kindly atmosphere. There was a bicycle and a pony. James trained his dog to pull him and his sleigh all over town, and he took music lessons on the melodion, the second operation being not quite so successful as the first. Sunday was a quiet day devoted to church and Sunday-school, with family and friends gathering in the evening. A clergyman's salary necessitated the utmost economy, if not frugality, yet out of this family of six children, five received a university education.

Friends and travellers were continually dropping in to this open house. The family table seems frequently to have been a forum where all sorts of questions were discussed and quite opposite points of view expressed. During these years Dr. Woodsworth several times travelled to the British Isles, recruiting for the Canadian ministry, and through his influence hundreds of young men came to Western Canada. They liked to call themselves "Dr. Woodsworth's boys." Many of them received a welcome in his home before venturing upon their new duties. In their company conversation often wandered overseas to discuss the affairs of the Old World and returned to consider the problems of the New—the spectacular growth of the West, where

cities and towns were springing into existence, or possibly the second Riel Rebellion, when the Indians, perhaps as a last gesture of resentment at losing their hunting grounds, and the half breeds afraid for their homesteads, joined forces and took to the war-path against the whites.

But Mr. Woodsworth's own description of his home is the most fitting one here. It is taken from a tribute which he paid to his father on the occasion of the unveiling of a portrait of Dr. Woodsworth at the fourth General Council of The United Church of Canada, held in London, Ontario, in 1930.

Perhaps his greatest achievement was that for half a century, notwithstanding much travelling, he and my mother maintained a singularly beautiful home. Though built on puritan foundations there was nothing austere in its lines. Its hospitable doors were always open alike to friends and strangers. It radiated a genial warmth throughout the neighbourhood. How profound and abiding were its influences can be known only by his sons and daughters.

The Woodsworth family remained in Brandon for twenty years, then moved to Winnipeg where Dr. and Mrs. Woodsworth both passed away, the former in 1917 and Mrs. Woodsworth in 1925. Mr. J. S. Woodsworth and his family now occupy the old home in Winnipeg.

After fifty years in the Canadian ministry, near the end of his life's journey, Dr. Woodsworth wrote:

I am thankful to have had a share in foundation-laying in this great country. . . . Never for an

hour have I lost faith in its future. I am persuaded that we are living in the early morning of a day whose fullness of promise we can but dimly anticipate.

Is it a dream?

Nay, but the lack of a dream!

And, wanting this, life's wealth and love a dream

And all the world a dream!

At his going, the *Winnipeg Free Press* had this to say:

Frequently these days we are reminded of the passing of our grand old men of the West. . . . Great fortunes have been made and lost since that notable period. The reward Dr. Woodsworth sought was the moral uplift of his country. . . . His name will add grace to the record of the men who have shaped the life of the great North-West.

2. STUDENT DAYS

At the age of seventeen, J. S. Woodsworth left his boyhood days in Brandon behind him and set out for the city of Winnipeg. Here in Wesley College he spent four years, graduating in the Department of Mental and Moral Science. The continuity of his college days was interrupted, for financial reasons, by a short normal course followed by a year of teaching in rural schools in Southern Manitoba. This gave him early a priceless possession, a feeling of independence and a sense of responsibility.

His college life has quite an up-to-date sound about it, for he seems to have spent considerable time on its extra, as well as its intramural activities. He gave a good many of his leisure hours to



"THE SENIOR STICK," WESLEY COLLEGE, WASHINGTON, 1896

"Association" football, winning a place on the college eleven. The presidency of the Y.M.C.A. led him into various kinds of undergraduate activity, from planning general meetings and introducing the speaker of the occasion to arranging study courses. In his final year, his record in studies, sports and student organizations was recognized and the general liking of his fellow students expressed, by their awarding him the highest student honour, "The Senior Stick"—so called from the gold-headed walking-stick with which it was the custom to present the victor. And students seem to have secret but infallible tests of their own by which they make such choices.

Every student following graduation faces that hardy perennial of a question, "What are you going to do next?" Considering his antecedents and home environment, James Woodsworth gave a logical and almost inevitable answer, namely, "I shall train for the Christian ministry." His decision gave peculiar satisfaction to his father and mother, for it meant that their eldest son would now carry on the family tradition of service within the Christian church. In later years Mr. Woodsworth characterized his decision as follows: "With me it was not a case of entering the church. I was born and brought up in the Methodist Church and easily found my way into its ministry."

Before proceeding with his studies in Divinity, he spent two years on probation in the mission field in south-western Manitoba. His scattered territory he covered by horse and buggy or on horseback,

visiting the older settlers in their comfortable homes and the new and mostly foreign arrivals in their rough shacks or sod houses, and observing with the clear eye of youth the inadequate provision of schools and churches and the meagre opportunities for community life.

In the fall of 1898 he entered Victoria College, Toronto, and the year which followed was filled with a heavy round of lectures and study. He still has rather painful recollections of hours spent wrestling with the complicated characters of Hebrew. In the mastery of this subject he failed to find much inspiration, because already his mind was interested in intellectual pursuits primarily as they bore some direct relation to the life and problems of the day; and Hebrew, although compulsory for divinity students, was some distance removed from contemporary questions.

A letter from Dr Burwash, at that period President of Victoria College, although written at a later date, comes in appropriately at this point.

This is to certify that the Reverend James S. Woodsworth, an honour graduate of the University of Manitoba in Arts and in the Department of Philosophy, has pursued post-graduate studies with us for one year and passed, as extra-mural student, all the examinations of the two preceding years in Divinity and Exegetical and Philosophical studies, and has been duly admitted to the degree of B.D. Mr. Woodsworth has also spent a year in post-graduate studies in Philosophy and Divinity at Oxford, attending the lectures of Mansfield and Balliol Colleges. He has been a careful and success-

ful student and is well prepared for further studies or for work as a teacher.

N. BURWASH

The year at Victoria College then was followed by a year of post graduate work at Oxford University, immediately preceding which came the experience of a first ocean voyage. Sailing on the *S.S. Californian*, down the St. Lawrence, past the French villages with their white cottages and slender, silver spires, this young Canadian, showing unusual initiative and commendable curiosity, set his face eagerly toward the Old World. He knew that he would see "far-off things and battles long ago"; and since he has always been supremely interested in the finest that life has to offer, he looked forward to having a part in the life of one of England's great seats of learning, and enjoying the values of an old civilization, impossible for a new country to have achieved.

And so in due course, in the fall of 1899, there arrived in Oxford a quiet mannered young gentleman, of literary and philosophic tastes, of an inquiring mind and serious purpose. He proceeded at once to arrange for courses of study in Philosophy and Theology. Under such men as Sanday, Driver, Dr. Fairbairn of Mansfield and Edward Caird of Balliol, these proved to be stimulating experiences, enjoyed in an atmosphere of intellectual and religious freedom.

There was no limit to the enjoyment of these Oxford days. The ancient colleges, with their beautiful gardens, the essence of old-world loveliness, and their wealth of tradition, won a lasting place

in his affections. A Christmas spent in the North of England, added a knowledge of wakes and Christmas festivities—English customs in interesting contrast to those of his prairie home.

Furthermore Oxford was being stirred to its depths by the humanitarian idealism fairly general throughout England at this time, it was by no means merely a centre of tradition and the learning of past ages. New currents of thought were finding their way into the life of the University, leading to debates and discussions with plenty of free speech among the student body. Booth's pamphlet, "The Bitter Cry of Outcast London," written in the late eighties, had ushered in a most uncomfortable era for British consciences and had caused a terrific sensation among the complacent and wealthy middle and upper classes. Many other strong influences for social reform were at work. Keir Hardie, the pioneer Labour member in the British House of Commons, was beginning his efforts. Ruskin College was established in Oxford for working men—a tribute to them and to the one for whom it was named, whose purpose had been to "extol beauty in the near and real" and to bring the enjoyment of art and beauty within reach of the working classes.

Moreover, on Christmas Eve, 1884, two Oxford men of good will, soon to be followed by thirteen others, took up residence in Whitechapel, the heart of London's most degraded and poverty-stricken district, in the first social settlement—Toynbee Hall. Eleven years previously, a young curate and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Barnett, made history by moving

into St. Jude's parish in that same district. During years of struggle against poverty, disease and vice the Barnetts came to believe that if citizens knew of these conditions they would not allow them to continue, and also that one of the best methods of knowing them was to rub shoulders with the workers and see and feel how they lived. Thus developed the idea of the social settlement where men and women could live in a working-class environment and come to know the workers as friends and fellow-citizens. Thus came Toynbee Hall, and other settlements followed in quick succession, supported by colleges, schools, or by interested citizens. It became the custom for students whose social conscience had been pricked to spend their holidays in settlement residences, or longer periods upon graduation, and in so doing they gained an insight into the nation's economic and social life. Later some of them entered Parliament, others served on town councils; but wherever they went they tended to leaven the lump of ignorance, prejudice and selfishness with a humane point of view.

The whole tenor of Mr Woodsworth's life up to this time naturally inclined him to movements such as these. It is not surprising, then, to find him spending most of his holiday time visiting or living in various settlements, in particular Mansfield House in Canningtown. Here he received his first introduction to the slums of a great city. He saw London not only as the heart of the world's trade and commerce but as a centre of working-class squalor and hopelessness. During the course of one

day he experienced perhaps the ultimate in contrasts. For a man of gentle background, he enjoyed what is surely one of the most pleasant things known to man, the hospitality of an English home, a beautiful establishment in the West End; and for one who loves his fellow men, he had one of the most disillusioning experiences—a visit to a worker's home in a congested London district. It is little wonder that he began to think that a new country would be well advised to avoid the mistakes of the old.

Student days, however, were filled with variety. A flying visit to Paris to take in the Exhibition of 1900 and something of the gay, colourful life of the Continent, and a trip down the Rhine from Rotterdam to Mannheim, opened up new and fascinating sources of pleasure and observation. Student days, however, have a habit of some fine day coming to an end, and in due time this particular student had to say good-bye to Oxford. He had to leave the rest of the Continent unvisited, at least for the time being, and turn his thoughts toward beginning his life work, as he then naturally supposed it would be, in the Methodist Ministry in the Canadian West.

It is interesting to note that thirty years later, in 1931, the pioneer and recognized leader of the Labour group in the Canadian House of Commons, he returned to England, among other places revisiting Oxford, where he addressed the University Labour Clubs and various undergraduate groups, and visiting Cambridge, where he spoke to the members of the Socialist Club.

3. METHODIST MINISTRY

On his return to Canada, as we have already seen, he received his degree in Divinity from Victoria College. He then journeyed home for a brief visit before starting out on the Mission Field in Assiniboia, now incorporated with the Province of Saskatchewan, where he spent one year followed by a brief pastorate in Keewatin, Ontario. In 1902 he was invited to join Reverend R. P. Bowles as associate minister in Grace Church, Winnipeg, one of the largest churches in the city and of considerable wealth and influence. Believing that in the Christian Church he could both live and preach a vital Christianity, he served this church for four years indefatigably and well.

In 1904 he married Lucy L. Staples, of Cavan, Ontario, an honour graduate in Moderns of Victoria College. Mrs. Woodsworth's forbears came from Ireland, which probably accounts for the whimsical humour and unconventional, altogether human point of view of this particular descendent. On their arrival in Winnipeg a reception was held for the young couple in the parlours of Grace Church, a lovely affair and long to be remembered. The stage seemed set in every detail for their advancement, and in truth their life has been a success in respect of "the things which cannot be shaken," but within a short time their immediate path was to become beset with difficulties.

This was the period of the controversies over "higher criticism." Moreover, after his experiences in England, Mr. Woodsworth found it impos-

sible to preach a narrow theology nor could he divorce preaching from action. He was convinced that the Christian conception of the Kingdom of God, a Christian Social Order, could be brought into the life of a given community if Christians cared enough. But he began to doubt the effectiveness of organized Christianity as an instrument for its accomplishment. It was the mood of many thoughtful members of the church then as it is to-day.

At this point his conscientiousness, his utter scrupulosity began to stand out, a quality which has dominated his life and actions ever since. Consistency to him has always been a jewel to be treasured. Feeling a growing sense of minority in his church relationships, and not in the best of health, he made up his mind not to accept another appointment at the moment but to go abroad with Mrs. Woodsworth and his father and sister for a complete change and rest.

The regret of the members of Grace Church at the departure of the Woodsworths was very real and expressed in a farewell gathering, in letters, and in gifts. Among these Mr. Woodsworth prized particularly the letter of friendship from the Young Men's Club, which read in part:

While our acquaintance has not been of very long duration, yet you have formed many friends who will always remember the many pleasant evenings we spent with you in the Club room, or at your home, where we were always made welcome and a great many of us always so glad to go.

With something of the pilgrim spirit the Wood-

worths set out, visiting the British Isles and the land of Luther; and from there Mr Woodsworth journeyed on alone down into Italy, and then to Egypt and to Palestine. These experiences greatly enriched his life and consequently influenced his speeches and writings. Ten years later he happened to be in Montreal. He was writing an article for a western Labour paper on his conception of an ideal city. There came into his mind a picture of some of the wretched homes he had visited a few days before in Montreal, and then "There came back to me a sacred evening when, from the Mount of Olives, I had looked across to Jerusalem. It was doubtless near the very spot from which Jesus had beheld the city and wept over it."

In his travels he was not merely a tourist but a searcher for truth. It was on that "sacred evening" in the garden on the Mount of Olives that he decided that he must follow his convictions even though that course involved severance from the church of his fathers.

On his return to Canada, after six months of travel, he spent the balance of the year as minister of the Methodist Church in Revelstoke, B.C.; he then made up his mind that there was only one possible course for him to take and that was to send in his resignation to the Methodist Church. With it he sent a detailed statement of his position, analysing point by point the articles in the Discipline with which he could not agree. The whole document is an outstanding example of his power of lucid and uncompromising reasoning and of the quality of his

moral intuition. It is worthy of careful study, but only a brief quotation from the conclusion can be included here.

My decision to withdraw has not been made hastily . . . I still feel the call to service. I have no definite plans for the future. It is unlikely that I shall enter the ministry of any other Church. If it were possible, I would still be willing to work under the direction of the Methodist Church. But I must be free to think and speak out my own thoughts, and live out my own life . . . I take this step with no feeling of bitterness toward the Church, and no sense of disloyalty to the Master, but with the conviction that I must be sincere at any cost. . . ."

The Conference appointed a committee to consider Mr. Woodsworth's resignation. It will perhaps be recalled that his father was at this time an honoured member of the Conference, which fact added greatly to the concern and anxiety felt by many of the ministers. It was with general satisfaction, therefore, that they received the report of the committee, which ran in part as follows: "We find that there is nothing in his doctrinal beliefs and adhesion to our discipline to warrant his separation from the ministry of the Methodist Church." One who preached the Conference Sermon on the evening the report was presented tells of the genuine pleasure felt by the forward-looking ministers that the Conference had shown so broadminded a theological attitude and that young Mr. Woodsworth was still to be one of them.

II

LIFE IN PIONEER SOCIAL WORK

LIFE IN PIONEER SOCIAL WORK

I. ALL PEOPLES'—A SOCIAL SETTLEMENT

The rapid movement in a new country such as Canada makes it difficult to recapture the Western scene of twenty five years ago. Now the eyes of most Canadians are turned eastward toward the shifting panorama of Europe—the steady procession of the Russian workers past the body of Lenin lying in timeless repose in the Kremlin, the riots in the Place de la Concorde in Paris, or the youth of Germany absorbing a doctrine of Pan-Aryanism as unscientific as it is dangerous to international friendship. Now the workers of Europe or the peasants struggling hopelessly with Mother Earth no longer read with kindling eyes the gay posters describing the industrial opportunities and wide open spaces of Canada. To-day every ocean liner as it turns slowly around in the harbour at Quebec, taking a last, long look at the Citadel and the Plains of Abraham, or as it sails out upon the Atlantic from the harbour at Halifax, carries with it men and women, many of them fine citizens of many years' standing, and children, fine citizens in the making, away from Canada for all time.

But 1907! During that year two hundred and fifty thousand immigrants came to Canada. Take a railroad as long as from Toronto to Winnipeg. Take

a strip of land ten miles on each side all the way. This amount was taken up in homesteads. From 1902 to 1907 an average of thirty thousand immigrants a year came into the Canadian West. Almost every third man who stepped off the train in Winnipeg "no spik English." And they arrived with mixed feelings, for in spite of the high hopes with which they set out, a long sea voyage and a tiresome journey by rail produced plenty of misgivings. A Scotchman, one of themselves, tried thus to cheer a group of discouraged immigrants on their way to Winnipeg: "What are ye dreecing aboot? Is't the poverty ye've left ahint? Think of what's afore ye!"

At this period Canada, along with her neighbour to the south, was called "the melting pot," and Winnipeg, perhaps more than any other place in the Dominion, was the centre of the melting process. She was, too, the "Gateway to the West," for the trains, having here disgorged their picturesque hordes into the Immigration Hall, some days, weeks or months later bore them out of the city and scattered them far and wide over the prairies. Moreover, here could be seen the extraordinary delicacy and complexity of a nation in the making. It had been difficult enough for two distinct national groups, the British and the French, to learn to live peaceably side by side, but now immigrants were coming to Canada from almost every country under the sun, bringing with them, along with much that was fine, the social cleavages and racial animosities of the Old World.



CLUBHOUSE IN WILSON, 1907

By 1907 Winnipeg had a population of 115,000, and its citizens had a right to feel proud of its achievements. To meet increasing demands schools and churches seemed to appear as if by magic. The Provincial University was well established. Attractive sites were set aside for parks. Lovely homes faced broad streets shaded by trees, by no means an easy feat in that comparatively treeless Province.

But there was another side to the picture. Up at the North End, near the C. P. R. tracks, a strange transformation was taking place, a change usual, however, in the life of older cities, and their experience ought to have been a warning to the city fathers. The residents were trekking to a more fashionable section to the south, while into their deserted houses, originally intended for one family, the foreigners packed themselves like sardines in a tin. In the front and rear of vacant lots double-decker tenements were erected, with windows like sightless eyes. Rows of tiny cottages appeared, sometimes deceiving the not-too-curious with their tidy exteriors, but concealing behind hermetically sealed doors and windows unbelievably crowded and unsanitary conditions. All in all a drab picture—and such were the homes into which Canada welcomed many of her new citizens.

In an effort to serve the religious needs of this district the Methodist Church maintained near the C. P. R. station a small mission called "All Peoples'." Someone who saw the seriousness of the problem said, intending all honour to the deaconess,

but indicating the insufficiency of the effort on the part of the churches. "A deaconess is sent with a few hymn-books and an organ into the midst of the foreigners to solve the problem of melting."

For here was a grand jigsaw puzzle in the sphere of religion and here was medievalism in many of its forms transferred to the twentieth century. Up to 1900 the greater number of immigrants to Canada came from Northwestern Europe and were mostly Protestant. By 1907, however, waves of immigration had set in from the Southeastern section, bringing peasants from the Ukraine of the Greek Orthodox or of the United Greek Catholic religions; Hungarians and Bohemians from the lands of the Danube, of the Roman Catholic persuasion; Jews from Russia, clinging to the faith of their fathers; and many others—all to be fitted in to the new Canadian picture.

To the little mission charge in the North End of Winnipeg, Mr. Woodsworth was appointed in 1907 by the Methodist Conference of Manitoba. It was the aim and hope of the Conference that he would develop a lively centre of church activities and promote Christian citizenship among the foreign population. The church was fortunate in its choice of a leader. Even at this time his knowledge of Western Canada was unique. A home life where the West with its opportunities and problems was part and parcel of the daily conversation, boyhood journeys with his father over prairie trails, school days in a typical Western town, University life in Winnipeg—these had taken him far from narrow

denominational grooves and had shown him more than usually meets the ministerial eye. Moreover his experience in settlements in England had given him experience in working in crowded city communities, and had shown him the way in which one group of immigrants had lived before they waved good-bye at the Liverpool Docks and embarked upon unknown seas. Later it was easy for him to understand why some of these city-bred folk failed to make good on Western farms and sifted back to the North End of Winnipeg.

On stepping over the threshold of the small mission building on Maple Street, Mr Woodsworth might well have addressed to his Methodist brethren the words spoken by the Israelites of the Egyptians: "There is no straw given unto thy servants, and they say to us, 'Make brick.' " This servant, however, has always had vision, courage to pioneer, and a capacity for hard work. Consequently within two years several additional buildings were being used to the limit of their accommodation; and two new institutes with excellent equipment had been built, including gymnasiums, swimming pools, clubrooms, kindergartens, and assembly rooms. This made possible a much wider usefulness to the community, providing educational and recreational facilities as well as regular church services and meeting the needs of the neighbourhood without regard to church affiliations.

Moreover Mr. Woodsworth gathered around him an excellent staff—kindergarten teachers, deaconesses, students from the various Winnipeg colleges

and other volunteers from the churches and elsewhere, to the number of one hundred, and these worked with him in a fine comradeship and in an absorbing round of activities. The more forward-looking members of the church were enthusiastic over the new developments, but there was always a steady fight to get away from a narrow denominationalism. Even the foreign friends were, however, often surprised at Mr. Woodsworth's non-sectarian point of view, one of them remarking: "In my country, religion man, he work his own church."

After two years Mr. and Mrs. Woodsworth, with their three young children, took up residence in the heart of the foreign district, near the Mission. The days ran the gamut of human experience from joy to tragedy, with plenty of human interest thrown in for good measure. One of the earliest recollections of the small daughter of the House of Woodsworth, now the wife of Angus MacInnis, M.P. for Vancouver South, is of her mother taking by the hand a tiny tot who had lost her tongue and who could not speak a word of English. Together they made the rounds of the room, Mrs. Woodsworth pointing to different colours in the hope of finding a clue to the missing headpiece. Such personal services were many and not infrequently of a unique character, such as that of the following incident. One of the deaconesses had been working with a man who had been living with many so-called wives, but she had finally succeeded in getting him to decide upon one for his lawful spouse. Mr. Woodsworth was called

upon to perform the marriage ceremony, and to make the occasion more emphatic thus changed the familiar words: "You have this woman to be your wife, and no other woman."

The members of the Mission staff visited constantly in the neighbourhood, gaining the confidence of the foreigners, inviting them to the various activities at All Peoples', and learning to understand their point of view. Frequently they were overwhelmed with a realization of their difficulties. A visitor making a tour of the tenements and cottages paints the following picture:

One back room I remember in all its details. An untidy, half-dressed woman lay on a bed, cluttered with old clothes and a scrubbing board. With one hand she rocked the cradle in which a baby covered with flies slept placidly. A broken-down lounge sagged near the tiny back window and on the table sat a tousle-headed little boy in a nightgown. As we walked slowly away, everything became a confused blur, in which groups of people in tiny dirty rooms stood out for a moment and vanished behind closing doors.

Another picture:

In the middle of the day, with the sun shining outside, dozens of men were sitting, smoking and drinking, or squatting on the beds—the North End's unemployed.

Day by day these facts came home to Mr. Woodworth and to the all too few thoughtful and public spirited citizens; and the gaps in the social structure became painfully evident. Manitoba was a young Province and had as yet no compulsory

education, and like most other Provinces no kindergartens, no co-ordinated system of charity organizations, no adequate provision for playgrounds, no juvenile courts. There were no night schools where the foreigner might learn English, no place where he could find recreation, no pleasant surroundings where he could meet Canadians. Here were appalling housing conditions, serious problems of health and sanitation, and the climax perhaps, of the city's disgrace—a segregated red-light district in the heart of Winnipeg's foreign quarter. This was the time too, and the explanation is obvious, of Winnipeg's first large Socialist demonstration. Kept moving by the police, the leaders carrying the red flag and the sign "We want work," several thousand of the city's unemployed marched to the City Hall—with the usual results of such demonstrations—no serious consideration of their needs, no satisfaction, but a bitter resentment and a sense of utter futility.

Mr Woodsworth was well aware that this neglect of human beings was not deliberate, that much of it came from indifference and much of it came from ignorance of what was actually taking place. He therefore made up his mind to accept his responsibility for bringing before the Canadian public the facts which he knew, and these efforts he has continued ever since. Not many Canadian citizens have so consistently and to so many different groups throughout the country presented the conditions of life of our working classes and interpreted their point of view; and perhaps what is more remark-

able, practical methods based on study and experience by which these conditions might be improved or removed altogether.

At some point during these six years at All Peoples' his wider influence may be said to have begun. His articles and letters to the press became frequent. The *Free Press* published in 1913 a series on immigration entitled "Canadians of To-morrow" and thus comments on one of his letters: "The letter from Rev J S. Woodsworth published in to-day's paper claims the attention of every thinking citizen of Manitoba who has the welfare and future progress of this country at heart"; and thus the *Tribune* "One man in our midst has set a great many people thinking."

During 1909 he wrote a most amusing series of articles for a small Labour paper called *The Voice*, under the caption, "The Weekday Sermon by Pastor Newbottle," where he expressed himself in much livelier language than he used in his addresses to more sophisticated audiences, or in his articles in the official organ of his church. This is from an article entitled "My Neighbour and I." He believes in profiting from the lessons of history!

"Charity to-day may be justice to-morrow " You will find this text of mine on the cover of an American journal--that's where I found it. No, I don't believe it is in the Bible. I thought it ought to be, but my concordance doesn't give it. Some people want chapter and verse for everything. Did you ever eat mushrooms? They were good even if they did grow out behind the old barn. If a thing is true it doesn't matter where it comes from or who said it first.

This is true! I can't prove it. It hasn't happened yet. But everyone knows that yesterday's charity is to-day's justice. . . Yesterday a man was praised for not whipping his slaves. To-day slavery has been abolished from the civilized world. Yesterday the poor man was thrown on alms. To-day the poor man demands his rights and appoints his representative on an arbitration committee. Yesterday kind ladies taught the children of the common people, to-day we have our national school system. This old world is moving along!

It strikes me that the charitable people had better go away back and sit down, especially if they go to church. But how about the uncharitable people? They must be the missing link. Generations hence their descendants may develop the moral sense.

In the meantime, as the poet says "There is so much angel in the worst of us, and so much devil in the best of us, that it's not nice for the most of us to say much about the rest of us"—or words to that effect.

Two books came from his pen during this period, conceived and executed by his never-resting brain in the midst of the distractions of his busy days. The first one, *Strangers Within Our Gates*, a preliminary study of immigration made during his first year at All Peoples', tells in a vivid and lucid manner, with statistics, apt quotations and excellent illustrations, the story of the various immigrant groups and their experiences, good and bad, in Canada. It gives a clear statement of the causes and effects of immigration, analyses the weak spots in the modern city, and ends with a striking chapter,

a challenge to the church, in which the following quotation is used: "As the waters of the ocean are flavoured by the salts of alkali plains and the sulphur of mountain springs, by the leaves that drift down from the hillsides and the reeds and grasses of the fertile fields, so shall the life of this nation be seasoned by all the varied characteristics that differentiate the nationalities of the world." The book had a notable success, running into ten thousand copies, the entire proceeds of which went to the Young People's Forward Movement of the Methodist Church.

The second book, *My Neighbour*, six thousand copies of which were published, took up again and discussed at length the problems of city life. The chapter headings are indicative. The Making of a City, The Struggling Masses, The Undermining of the Home, Social Life. The whole treatment shows Mr. Woodsworth's ability to see and to analyse the undercurrents in society, and its weaknesses and deficiencies. These, to the abstract thinker, become problems for intellectual solution, but to him have always been difficulties to be first studied and then remedied.

Both books were widely read by individuals and widely used as study books, particularly by young people's groups in the Methodist churches across Canada. Their influence upon the thinking of Canadians it is impossible to estimate. As one result, however, of their wide use, letters came to Mr. Woodsworth from all over the country, "from college professors, students, editors, clergymen seek-

ing information on immigration, from Ottawa for suggestions for a national pageant, from Prince Rupert for information about child labour, and from every city of any size requests for help in improving conditions among the immigrants.*

During this period, too, his career as a public speaker began and has continued with few interruptions to the present day, when in the House of Commons and elsewhere he challenges our ancient and modern evils with the same logic of fact. His knowledge and experience were continually in request and his always thought-provoking and humane presentations of social and economic questions were more and more appreciated. The church having invited him to help in a campaign in the Maritime Provinces, one can see his sphere of influence steadily enlarging.

He is primarily a teacher. To make his lectures more easily understood, he has developed his natural flair for charts and diagrams. There must be hundreds of people across the country who have indelible pictures in their minds as a result of his use of this graphic method of illustrating a subject.

On one memorable occasion in a prairie Province a meeting had been announced to take place at a school-house. Darkness had fallen before all the farmers managed to arrive. Nothing daunted, Mr. Woodsworth erected his chart on two fishing poles and placed it against the side of the school. The farmers drove their cars around in a semi-circle

*When not otherwise stated, quotations are from Mr. Woodsworth's writings or addresses.

and turned their lights on the chart, while they listened with keen interest to a discourse on the methods of exploitation inherent in the present economic system. The chart illustrated his lecture by a horn with two ends, one large and the other small. Mr. Woodsworth explained how it was that the producer received only the profits which came out of the small end!

In both his writings and addresses he has a ready and pleasant humour. One of his favourite stories illustrates the large number of foreign-born in the West. The census enumerator had appeared at the Mission House door. He had been chosen because he spoke a foreign language rather than for his knowledge of English. "Vat name you? Voodsvert? How you spell him?" Mr. Woodsworth spelled him. "Vat you verk at?" A social worker had some difficulty in explaining. "You verk yourself, or you verk somebody else?"—another puzzling question. "Vat nationality you?" Mr. Woodsworth replied "Canadian." "Canadian," the man said hesitatingly, "Vat's dat?" Not many of dem kind in dis country." Another story illustrates some of the ideas held by foreigners as to the meaning of Canadian citizenship. "Are you a Doukhaber?"—"No, me no Doukhaber, me drink, me swear, me Canadian."

When stirred by a sense of injustice Mr. Woodsworth's sarcasm can be both appropriate and biting.

"Thou shalt not steal." That's as good for us as it was for Moses, but we have a thousand ways of stealing that Moses never dreamed of. The old

patriarch would be dead easy if he wandered into Winnipeg and fell into the hands of - well, say our smooth real estate dealers. They would have a mortgage on the Promised Land before he reached the Grain Exchange.

Groups of all kinds sought and continue to seek him as a platform speaker. During this period he spoke to the Canadian Public Health Congress in Regina on "The Significance of Human Waste in Modern Life," to the Winnipeg Ministerial Association on "The Problem of the Foreign Born," to the Public School Board of Saskatoon on "The Public School as a Social Centre," to the Canadian Club in Toronto, an interesting occasion at McConkey's on King St., on "Immigration," to University students on "The University and Social Problems," and even this list gives only a hint as to the variety and scope of his labours.

Within the city of Winnipeg he concentrated his attacks on the strategic effort of the moment, bringing to bear the full force of his knowledge and experience. When the citizens were beginning to realize the extent of juvenile crime he was tireless in his support of a Juvenile Court, and he wrote to the *Free Press*, in his usual careful manner, pointing out facts and figures from studies made in the United States:

The immigrants lose control of their children. They fail to adapt their training to meet the new conditions in which children are granted such a degree of liberty. At this time it is imperative that the state should, when necessary, be *in loco parentis*.

Juvenile Courts have been tested in the United States and found fitted to meet the need.

Some time later there came a moment of satisfaction, the perfect reward for the effort of a citizen, when in 1908 Winnipeg established a Juvenile Court, the first of its kind in Canada.

A curious situation existed in Winnipeg, one common, of course, to most cities—all around, the prairies stretching away into the distance mile after empty mile and city children finding "no place to play." Again, however, the citizens were awakening. A Playground Commission was appointed, of which Mr Woodsworth was a member. He was asked to address one of the meetings of its members and directors. Again his careful facts and figures were compelling.

In three wards in Winnipeg there are approximate ten thousand children in need of playgrounds. For bad boys reformatories are better than jails; but manual training and playgrounds are better than reformatories.

Another moment of triumph followed. By 1912 playgrounds were taken over by the city government and thus established as a regular part of the city's service to its children.

Not only as a speaker and writer was Mr. Woodsworth a force for public good, but also through his successful efforts to bring people together in effective organizations, on occasion, people of diverse opinions and points of view. Co-operation is a word which appeared early in his vocabulary. All Peoples' always "cogged-in" with other social

agencies. In regard to the churches he had soon learned that a lack of co-operation meant failure in advancing the larger interests of society. As a result he himself took an active part in every inter-denominational activity making for good citizenship and stimulated the interest of many church people to the point of extending their services to meet the social needs of the community.

But not only church leaders, the city's social workers also began to move in the direction of joint action. At an organization meeting called to form a "League for Social Service Workers," Mr Woodsworth was elected convener and a vote of thanks passed for "his successful efforts to gather together the social workers of the city with the object of securing greater co-operation." This club has continued to be socially useful ever since. In 1931, on his return from a four months' trip to Europe, Mr Woodsworth addressed the members, giving them a wealth of information about social work and social agencies in Europe, prefacing his remarks with a short review of the social welfare work that might possibly be undertaken by the Dominion House, emphasizing particularly the need for some form of unemployment insurance.

In those earlier days the Mayor was also caught by the co-operative net! Mr. Ashdown was probably a little surprised to find himself inviting a group of leading citizens and social workers to a meeting to discuss the formation of a Charity Organization Society, with the purpose of doing away with overlapping among social agencies and pre-

venting the indiscriminate giving of charity. Mr. Woodsworth was asked to address the meeting and outline the existing situation in Winnipeg and methods adopted in other cities. The Charity Organization Society was formed and a trained executive secretary, J. H. T. Falk, was put in charge.

When the organization of a branch of the Workers' Educational Association was first mooted, the meeting to discuss the question seemed drawn as by a magnet to one inevitable spot—the Woodsworth home. This was only one of many such pleasant gatherings in this hospitable house, with Mr. Woodsworth the presiding genius and Mrs. Woodsworth the thoughtful hostess.

And it was not because this particular social worker had not enough to do in his own locality that he travelled so far afield, for all during those years he carried a heavy load of responsibility in All Peoples' Mission itself. He described himself at this time as a sort of business manager, promoter, publicity agent, collector, clerk and messenger boy all rolled in one. The Mission, for one thing, became a Bureau of Information and Help, for the immigrants arrived with no knowledge of Canadian ways, of where to find a job, a doctor, or a postage stamp for the important first letter home. One of the rooms in the Woodsworth home was called into service as a kind of employment office. One of Mr. Woodsworth's favourite poems was, and still is, for it now hangs inside his office door in the Parliament Buildings, "The House by the Side of the Road." Two of the lines run: "Let me live in a house by

the side of the road, where the race of men go by." After a brief stay in the Woodsworth home, a friend once amusingly commented: "It seems to me rather that you live in a house in the middle of the road and the race of men go through it."

But to Mr Woodsworth his city wide efforts and his work in All Peoples' were simply two sides of the same problem, namely the development of a social environment adequate to the physical, mental and spiritual life of human beings. He conceived of the Mission not only as helping in its immediate neighbourhood but as serving wider community purposes. One such purpose, which made an especial appeal to him, was that the Mission should pioneer where there were serious needs not yet recognized by the city authorities. Thus the Mission became a demonstration centre where experiments were tried out and successful methods then made available for use in the city. The teaching of English to the foreign-born in Winnipeg, in which field All Peoples' pioneered, provides one of many possible examples of how well this plan worked out.

The workers at All Peoples' knew the struggles of the foreigners to make themselves understood, the barrier of language added to all the sharp adjustment of a new country. How shall they sing the Songs of Zion in a strange land? No classes for the teaching of English in the city schools, but there always seemed room for something more at the Mission. Three nights a week about one hundred foreigners left their crowded, stuffy quarters, came to the cheerful rooms of the Mission and strug-

gled with strange new words and phrases. As time went on an almost pathetic eagerness to learn gripped many of the foreign groups in the city. The Poles finally sent a delegation to Mayor Ashdown urging that night classes be started. A meeting of prominent educationists, church and social workers was called and Mr Woodsworth presented the case for the foreigners. With some diffidence the work was begun, soon the number of classes reached sixteen, an undreamed of success, and by 1914 there were several thousand studying not only English but general academic subjects.

No kindergartens in Winnipeg schools but several at the Mission, gay with flowers and the singing of birds. "Much is gained by taking a very little child and making a truly beautiful thing beautifully beloved." In this joyous faith, every morning long before nine, the teacher started out on her rounds of the neighbourhood, like a shepherd gathering her flock. She had to go early, for foreign mothers were frequently too tired, or too lazy, or did not understand enough, to get Thor or Rosie or Sasha ready in time or ready at all; and the teacher's eloquence and resourcefulness were taxed to the limit. There was, however, no thought of retreat until the quota had been collected. Then only did she return to the Mission, leading a unique procession, of an international significance greater than that of Tariff Boards—the tiniest tots clinging to her long and voluminous skirts while the braver ones trailed off behind.

In addition to English classes and kindergartens,

there were gymnasium, swimming, cooking and sewing classes which filled strenuous days and busy nights but gave strange and thrilling rewards. Once upon a time one of the boys who had learned to swim at the Institute saved a little friend from drowning in the treacherous Red River. The *Free Press*, commenting on his bravery and resourcefulness, pointed out the fine work being done by the Mission and the fact that it had two out of the three swimming pools in the city.

There were few bridges uniting the foreign and Canadian-born, no go-betweens, no common meeting places. And if there were no opportunities for mutual understanding and enjoyment, how could there be any national unity? And in any case, what was that unity to be—a levelling down to the lowest common denominator? An immigrant once wrote bitterly and perhaps not quite fairly:

We know the English would like to make us all alike, like the five fingers on a hand, but this is a very difficult thing. I and my children although we should know English as well as our mother tongue, would always feel in our hearts that we cling to our own; always will be like that tree, which, transplanted to another land, has died a little, but after a while sends out new shoots of its own.

Mr. Woodsworth had this to say:

Have we nothing to learn from the nearer or farther East? The patient endurance, the tranquil repose, the literary and scientific achievements, the business keenness, the religious yearning of the older age have surely their value for us in this bustling, practical West.

To help in bridging the gap between the Canadian and foreign born, Mr Woodsworth developed the idea of a popular Sunday lecture society, which he called the Peoples' Forum. The keynote was a sentence from Bagehot. "Views extensively held, and opinions widely entertained should be stated publicly in the interest of all." A Community Committee was set up and the idea inaugurated at a meeting in the old Grand Theatre in the fall of 1909.

In spite of difficulties and discouragements during the following five years, throughout the fall and winter months, two meetings were held each Sunday. By that time the value of the Forum was recognized by the educational authorities, and they granted the committee the use of the fine auditorium in St. John's Technical School. For seven years in all, audiences made up of Canadians and foreign-born, figuratively speaking, smoked the pipe of peace and good will, while they listened on Sunday afternoons to illustrated lectures, joining in discussion afterwards, and on Sunday evenings enjoyed concerts and recitals contributed by the national and other civic groups in the city. The music of such choirs as the Polish, Ukrainian, Hungarian, Russian, Norwegian, to mention only a few, must have been an education in itself and a most effective method of bringing about mutual appreciation.

A glance over any one of the years' programmes shows that many outstanding speakers in the religious, cultural and political life of the Dominion addressed the Forum audiences. One

Sunday of each year was devoted to international and interracial understanding. One such programme included a French-Canadian, a German, a Pole, a Ukrainian and an Icelandic. Shades of Mars! In another setting there was enough fuel here to set several wars in motion!

The Forum movement seemed to be firmly entrenched in Canadian life. By 1916 there were five in Winnipeg alone, and the idea was spreading rapidly to other cities, large and small. But in spite of the good will engendered, the racial bitterness aroused by the war subjected them to too severe a strain and most of them had to close their doors, a symbol, one might take it, of the fact that the nations were closing their hearts and minds against each other. The closing of the Forums might be called one of the many minor tragedies of the war.

By 1912 another bridge appeared, this time uniting the foreign-born and a group of University students. Mr Woodsworth succeeded in convincing the Student Committee of the Y. M. C. A. in the Winnipeg colleges of the value of a student residence in the North End, patterned after the English and American University settlements, such as Teynbee Hall in London and Hull House in Chicago. In due course about twenty of the finest men in the University took up residence in Winnipeg's foreign quarter. Each week the men gave a certain amount of time to actual service in the community and in addition took part in a study group in the residence conducted by one of the University professors. The course dealt with the social and economic questions

of the day. This experiment in mutual understanding was also brought to a close by the war.

About this time came Mr. Woodsworth's first official connection with organized labour. Who else would have thought of having the Ministerial Association represented on the Trades and Labour Council? But the suggestion was made and acted upon. The Ministerial Association promptly appointed Mr. Woodsworth as their representative on the Council, and the Council put his knowledge and experience to good use by making him their representative on a Commission on Technical Education appointed by the Manitoba Government. In this connection he visited several cities in Canada and the United States, giving special study to the problems of Technical schools. Through his connection with the Council he learned a great deal about the philosophy, the methods, and the organization of the Labour movement. His interest in the particular problems of the workers has, of course, been with him from the beginning of his career. Some of his charts show careful studies of "A Workman's Budget" and "The Wages of Unskilled Labour" and he was frequently asked to address Labour audiences, groups of social workers and others on "The Minimum Wage."

A foretaste of the real character of the political game came in a bitterly contested election in Gimli, a small town north of Winnipeg. Mr. Woodsworth had watched the political practice of buying the foreign vote time and time again and had found the term democracy coming to mean to many of the

foreigners merely liberty to sell their vote to the highest bidder. On this occasion certain facts were known to him which he reported—with the usual result. He was personally attacked in the approved political style and bitterly criticized by men who scarcely knew him.

* * * * *

Perhaps we have now arrived at the point where we can sum up Mr. Woodsworth's work at All Peoples' and its effect upon his point of view. We have followed that rather quiet mannered, alert figure, slight but well built and capable of long endurance, on his daily round of visits to neighbours, interviews with members of various groups in the community, lectures, speeches and meetings. Under his leadership we have seen the Mission growing in usefulness. No monotonous series of services here, either of the dull or of the emotional kind, but a cheerful, healthy, friendly succession of activities. The Mission was so well established that it has continued its neighbourly service in the North End to this present day and will probably continue so to do. And not only All Peoples' but, as we have seen, many other organizations, educational as well as social and religious, received a lasting impress from his disinterested and generous service to the community and from his courageous and pioneer efforts in the field of social work. Again, one can feel the pulse of the community responding a little more quickly to pleas for social justice and to the idea of the community as a family and surmise that the

head of All Peoples' had played a not unimportant part in this most difficult of all achievements.

But there was a by product from this unusual factory, perhaps of greater significance to Canada than the original article. Every one who lives and works in a settlement, and so in close contact with the workers of the country, receives a liberal education in social conditions, and how all the world and his brother lives, more stimulating and more disruptive of conventional Main Street thinking than any number of university lectures on the same subject. The fact is that personal contact with the daily life of the workers touches the imagination and feelings as well as the intellect as do few other experiences. Mr. Woodsworth has had an opportunity given to few citizens, perhaps, to view his country not only from the intermediate position of a comfortable, middle-class business or professional man but also from the dregs of society up to the so-called top. He has seen picture after picture in the changing panorama of our national life which never come into the line of vision of the average citizen. Thus he has come to know how the existing social system works out in the lives of different classes of people, why "the good life" passes by on the other side the submerged tenth, and which group in the population suffers most for the prosperity and comfort of the rest. It is this intimate knowledge of Canadian conditions which has given to Mr. Woodsworth's idealism its practical character and has made him a constructive force in public life.

It is difficult and perhaps unimportant to date

exactly the beginnings of characteristics which later become outstanding. It may be that Mr. Woodsworth has always had a passion for the happiness and welfare of human beings, but in any case some time during these six breath-taking years at All Peoples' this passion became his life. Where the railway magnate saw cheap labour, he saw a peasant from the fertile steppes of the Ukraine spiking rails in fifty degrees below zero weather. When real estate agents saw profits in the high price of land he wrote:

The great land centres are being closed to the people. We ought to be able to boast that land is so cheap that every labourer may be able to own a plot on which to build a little home of his own.

He learned to study and observe before drawing his conclusions, a faculty which he has cultivated. Recently a member of Parliament jokingly remarked: "You were only a few days in Russia but you talk about their wonderful system. That is always the way with you idealists." Mr Woodsworth replied quietly, "I speak only of what I saw." He believed that one country could learn from other countries and from the mistakes of the past. Perhaps he came to believe that Canada, a comparatively young nation, could be an experiment in social justice and in human comradeship. But there is quite early a note of premonition: "Already we have in rudimentary form nearly all the evils which have cursed the older nations."

There is a paragraph from an address on "Unemployment" which he gave to the Social Workers'

Club in Winnipeg which shows his scientific point of view and deserves to be rescued from a dusty oblivion.

When for the purpose of detailed study we attempt to isolate elements, we find that despite our efforts they simply will run into one another. We try to trace a chain of cause and effect and find ourselves chasing around in a circle in which with bewildering rapidity the effect becomes a cause and then again an effect. We think we perceive the general and inevitable tendency of certain movements and then discover that unknown factors, as it were hidden undercurrents, have falsified all our calculations. Social forces are dynamic not static. Further, while economic, they are spiritual. And the ways of the spirit who can tell? So it is with diffidence that we offer any conclusions on even such a pre-eminently practical problem as unemployment.

Somewhere during this period Mr. Woodworth lost once and for all his dependence upon "an authorized body of truth," upon which one could lean and find comfort for one's soul and for the souls of one's comfortable friends. Somehow most of those who were so convinced of this truth did not care about comfortable homes for the working man or a decent living wage. All too familiar to him was the experience of an immigrant trying to support his family:

For three days I sat near the elevator, hungry, and asked for bread. . . . Happily enough I found work on the railway. They paid \$1.25 a day, but sixty cents was deducted for board.

Gradually in the place of any religious doctrine or set economic philosophy there came certain attitudes—first, of the humanitarian who believes in the supplying of human needs before the making of profits; then, of the scientist, the careful student in the field of social problems; finally, of the man of faith who can say "O daring joy but safe! Are they not all the seas of God? O farther, farther, farther sail!"

Six years had now gone by. "The Mission was well established; a competent staff was in charge and although nothing definite lay ahead, Mr. Woodsworth felt called to a wider field. The actual break came in the spring of 1913 and his departure was generally lamented. The *Free Press* commented: "His decision will be learned with regret in many quarters for no other social worker in the Canadian West is so well-known to the country at large." A farewell was tendered him in which the civic, social, church, and foreign groups united to honour him, and among the many kind and generous words of appreciation and insight expressed on that occasion these stand out "He is neither an optimist nor a pessimist, who sees things as they are. Then he is perfectly fearless, and no man's man." "In the Mission he was the centre rather than the head, radiating his influence rather than dominating."

2. THE CANADIAN WELFARE LEAGUE

On the door of Room 10, in the Industrial Bureau of Winnipeg, there appeared about the fall of 1913

a curious name which the postman probably looked at with a puzzled expression but which he was destined to see many times during the next three years. In all likelihood he delivered more mail to that address than to all the rest of the building put together. The sign read "Canadian Welfare League" and thereby hangs an interesting tale.

We have seen that Mr Woodsworth in his travels up and down the country had formed the habit, an excellent thing in a citizen, of keeping his eyes open to conditions, and along with others of like keenness, saw weak construction in much of the nation building. After all, Canada had grown up in a hurry and had not had much time to consider how or in what direction. Observers saw sectionalism developing. Social life in farm districts was a poor affair. In the cities charitable institutions were cropping up hither and yon, more often getting in each other's way than not, doing too much of one thing and not enough of another. New communities were starting and repeating the mistakes of the old.

All of which led to the birth of an idea. Would it not be possible "to establish a centre for the promotion of a general interest in all forms of social welfare and to make a practical study of Canada's emergent social problems caused by our large and heterogeneous population, by the rapid growth of our cities and the stagnation of some of our rural districts, by the beginnings of industrialism, and generally our entrance into a fuller life?"

The idea of such a centre grew. It had a certain

hard common sense about it. And it so happened that at this very time, September, 1913, a conference was meeting in Winnipeg and the very kind of conference for this idea to take root in and it did. Leading educationists, clergymen and social workers had come to Winnipeg to attend the Canadian Conference of Charities and Corrections, and a group of them met together and decided that the time was over ripe for such an organization. Thus the Canadian Welfare League was formed and for the purpose already stated. Mr. Woodsworth had been heart and soul in the movement, or perhaps it is nearer the truth to say that the movement began in that creative mind of his; in any case, since his qualifications were unique, he was the unanimous and enthusiastic choice for Secretary of the new League.

His personal friends and many others who had come to feel a genuine interest in him and admiration for the fine quality of his contribution to Canadian affairs were delighted with his new appointment. They felt that nothing of his experience or knowledge would now be lost, it would simply be made more widely available.

The simplest possible organization was set up. A council was elected representing the country from Halifax to Vancouver and including people nationally known for their work in educational and social fields. An office was established in Winnipeg. For convenience sake the members of the Council resident in Winnipeg were constituted the Executive. Thus all was accomplished except the most baffling

part of such enterprises, the securing of financial support. Nor did the money fall like gentle rain from heaven. But Mr. Woodsworth's reputation for honest, skilful work was such that he had already gained the confidence of some of Winnipeg's most highly respected business men, and although no large gifts of money or endowments were forthcoming, enough was collected in voluntary subscriptions to give the new organization a start and enough with which to carry on. This was perhaps the happiest situation, for there were no strings.

Room 10 was quickly adapted to its new purpose. There were no expensive desks, no oil paintings of vanished magnates, no soft Chinese rugs, as evidence of success and efficiency, but there was an astonishing number of socially useful ideas in books, pamphlets, clippings from papers, or first-hand information as to where such might be found. The office became a lecture bureau where names of speakers on community problems could be obtained, a publicity bureau offering a bulletin and press service, a social service clearing house where a group planning some community effort such as public health, industrial organization, unemployment insurance or a rural community centre could find out the best plans used elsewhere. And, of course, it was an Information Bureau on immigration problems in which connection Mr. Woodsworth's personal and intimate knowledge must have been invaluable. In a Reader's notes in the *Free Press* at this time there is a confirming statement. The writer had been speaking of the death of Dr Robert-

son, that outstanding figure in the life of Western Canada, Superintendent of Home Missions for the Presbyterian Church, and then said: "I do believe that Dr. Robertson had the surest grasp of the foreign problem and its ultimate relation to a greater Canada—and I do believe that his mantle has fallen on the founder of the Canadian Welfare League."

The office became a cheerful rendezvous for people with constructive ideas to give or to get on community projects, while Mr. Woodsworth became a new kind of specialist—a consulting sociologist. One of his earliest pieces of community work was the setting up of a social welfare organization in Edmonton. During a week of field work in the Maritimes he visited Saint John, where he explained to a group of leading citizens the organization of a community council to study and to centralize social work. There was a survey made of Regina, considering the adequacy of its set-up from various standpoints, such as municipal organizations, housing, seasonal employment, recreational facilities. His subsequent "Report of a Preliminary and General Social Survey of Regina" shows the clear analysis of a well-trained research mind. Both here and in Edmonton he drew wise conclusions, gave suggestions for improvement and advanced attainable objectives.

Moreover he stirred up the minds not only of the city fathers but perhaps the harder-to-move minds of the tillers of the soil. He knew something of their difficulties. He knew "the narrowness inci-

dent to the isolated and monotonous life of the prairies." Here is a paragraph of his describing a visit to a prairie school house

Let us drive to school with the children on some fine Winter morning. We are almost oppressed by a sense of vastness—of boundlessness. Around us on every side the snow field stretches away till it meets the great blue dome of the heavens. We are conscious of nothing but a blank expanse of sky and snow. Gradually the prospect becomes more familiar and we seem to be travelling over the wastes of a frozen sea. The restless waves have been transmuted suddenly into these undulating drifts, their voice frozen into this intense silence. And there, like ships in the offing, lie the scattered houses of the farmers.

Again, he visits a Galician colony in Saskatchewan

Esterhazy, Stockholm, Dubuc, Grayson, Kildale Neudorf and Lemberg, the very names of the stations carry us in thought to half of the countries of Europe. And the names are a very good index of the character of the population. Little foreign colonies are scattered in groups all over the West. It is a haphazard, a hit-or-miss arrangement that is utterly bewildering to the stranger. Draw a map of Western Canada. Mark the English settlements in red, the German in yellow, the Polish in blue and so on, a colour for each nationality. You will have a crazy patchwork quilt that would take the prize at any country fair.

The prairie school could have been a centre for recreation, lectures, discussions and in a few exceptional cases, and with a rare sky-pilot for a

teacher, did succeed in fashioning the life of its community more nearly to the heart's desire, but as a general thing "the one institution that has been merely marking time or marching with leaden footsteps is the rural school." In a humorous mood Mr. Woodsworth gives one of the reasons: *

The country's schoolmarm's do not grapple with community problems. They cause a flurry among the rural swain of the district for a year or two, and then marry one of said swain or go back to the city to marry. In the meantime rural neighbourhoods languish socially because there is no actual and natural head to co-ordinate the various interests.

Careful study of a situation, then the creative urge to find a solution in the cause of good citizenship, this process had become a well-established habit of Mr. Woodsworth's. It is not surprising, then, that there now appeared *Studies in Rural Citizenship*, designed for the use of Grain Growers' Associations, Women's Institutes, Community Clubs, Young People's Societies and similar organizations and groups desirous of obtaining an intelligent view of rural life in Canada with its various needs and possibilities. It shows Mr. Woodsworth's ability to get people to accept new ideas that this study course was authorized by the Canadian Council of Agriculture. The words of the President of the Manitoba Grain Growers' Association in the Introduction to the handbook are significant. "The sending out of this course of study marks an advance movement in connection with the work of the Grain Growers' Association."

Time would fail to speak of the studies in detail, the dramatic and provocative treatment, the wide variety of subjects, including *The Rural Home—Yesterday and To-morrow*, *The Rural School—Its Development*, *The Rural Church—Has It Found Itself?* *The Tariff*, *Public Ownership and Control—Railways, Markets, Banking, etc.*, and ending on the high note of *International Peace*. The word "studies" hardly gives to the book its right flavour, for it is not an academic treatise for the pale student burning the midnight oil. One can only savour its spices in the setting, for example, of the home of some alert teacher in a northern Alberta town, where a group, including farmers, having become interested in the possibilities of a richer community life, have met together to talk over the situation. The Studies provide plenty of fuel to light the fires of argument and discussion—quotations from experts, comparisons of one country with another and of the past with the present, personal observations of Mr Woodsworth's, such as described in *A Trip Across Canada*, and many racy, common sense statements of fact. At the end of each study suggestions are offered for subjects for debate, such as "Resolved, that one should vote for a conscientious, able man rather than a first-class platform." After meetings such as this, one can picture the members of this group, and of many others dotted across Canada, going off into the darkness their respective homeward ways, wiser at least, perhaps sadder, but more likely with an odd feeling that something might yet be done. " 'Tis not too late to seek a newer world."

At this period many forces were at work throughout the country arousing an interest in community affairs. This resulted in a demand for expert workers and the demand revealed a complete lack of facilities for training in social work in Canada. Most of those already in the field were either Americans or Canadians trained in the United States, for while in the United States every university of any standing had a chair in sociology, and there were besides excellent schools devoted entirely to the training of social workers, there was not a department of Social Science in any one of our Canadian universities.

Recognizing this situation, a representative group of Winnipeg citizens met with Mr. Woodsworth in the office of the League to consider what could be done. There were present professors from Manitoba University, members of the Women's Council, of the School Board and of the Industrial Bureau. It was agreed that a training course should be set up in Winnipeg without delay. Toward the end of August, 1914, one of the first, if not the first, training classes for social workers in Canada was an accomplished fact, with a registration of sixty students for full or part time. Mr. Woodsworth assisted in the work of organization, acted as Director and gave one of the lecture courses.

Obviously this course started the ball rolling for the *Free Press* reported in the following October that Mr. Woodsworth had given an excellent course of lectures on "The Social Service Field" to forty university students. The University of Toronto

about the same time was feeling a similar impulse stirring in its academic bones and in the fall of 1914 inaugurated a department of Social Service, since renamed Social Science. The *Toronto Globe* of 1915 reported that under the auspices of this department Mr Woodsworth gave a series of lectures on Rural Life in Canada, Immigration, etc.

Although Mr Woodsworth had no blue Buick or aeroplane or private car such as Mrs. Roosevelt possesses, who is described as "travelling incessantly up and down the nation, across it and back, visiting all manner of places and institutions, traversing its skies and its surfaces," apart from the skies not then within reach of the average traveller, the description gives an excellent idea of the Secretary's strenuous life at this time. Among his ports of call were Quebec and the Maritimes, where he spent three months lecturing, observing and being consulted. In Montreal he had been booked for twenty-four lectures; he gave an additional seventy-five. To the co-operating Theological Colleges in that city he lectured on Social Service, and must have had a time of satisfaction relating Bible truths to Canadian facts thus: "The advocate of industrial insurance is surely the legitimate successor of the Good Samaritan," while the verse, "The stranger that sojourneth with you shall be unto you as the home-born among you, and thou shalt love him as thyself," received from his treatment a singularly Canadian application. Probably because he was at this time one of the few men in Canada sufficiently equipped both by education and

experience, he was asked to give a course of extension lectures on social problems in McGill University. The course was entitled "Canadian Immigration Problems." Another unusual picture comes from this visit—the honour graduate in Arts and Philosophy giving an address bristling with contemporary facts on "Shock in Migration" to the McGill Philosophical Society in Strathcona Hall.

Thus month by month and year by year this careful, painstaking student of Canadian affairs advanced in knowledge, in experience and consequently in seasoned judgment.

In relation to social problems generally and private social work in particular he came to certain conclusions, best explained in his own words:

We are gradually coming to understand that social problems may be scientifically investigated, that society runs in accordance with certain well-defined laws which may be ascertained, that improvement is not a mere dream of the idealist. It is rather a scientific problem in efficiency which can no longer be neglected without serious results. Further, it is being recognized more clearly than ever that matters of public welfare cannot be left entirely to private initiative; that the state itself must definitely assume responsibility for the adjustment of social conditions.

Furthermore he had gained the respect of, and was acknowledged as an expert in his field by, leaders in business, in the church, in organized labour, in government and in the universities. In 1915 his name appeared in the list of speakers in the Canadian Club of his own city of Winnipeg, which list

also included the names of the Honourable Arthur Meighen, Sir Robert Borden, Major General Sam Hughes and Sir Johnston Forbes Robertson.

3. THE BUREAU OF SOCIAL RESEARCH

It is small wonder then that doors continued to open for him. In March, 1916, the *Free Press* announced that the governments of the three Western provinces, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta had established a "Bureau of Social Research," the first of its kind in Canada, and "it will occur to most people that if the three governments had tooth combed the West for a man to undertake the new work no more suitable man than James S. Woodsworth could have been found. . . The best wishes of the people in all three provinces will go out to Mr. Woodsworth and his colleagues in the important work they are undertaking "

It will also occur to most people to wonder how the three governments had been led to take a step involving so great a degree of initiative and social vision. Undoubtedly an impetus toward this end had come from the presence in Winnipeg of Mr. Harold Laski, now of the London School of Economics, at that time on the Faculty of McGill University. Mr. Laski had been giving a course of lectures in the Training School for Social Workers in Winnipeg, which had aroused considerable interest in the problem of social research. But the actual establishment of such a government activity as the Bureau represented could have come only as the

result of a long process of education of public opinion. In this difficult task, the stimulating of the mind of the Canadian public to understand and grapple with social problems, Mr. Woodsworth's contribution had been outstanding. The Bureau was, in part, the climax of his efforts, and his appointment a natural result of years of experience and hard spade work in the field of social work.

His new office was in the Government Building at the corner of Sherbrooke Street and Portage Avenue. His files were quickly transferred there, from Room 10 in the Industrial Bureau; and with energy and zest he threw himself into the work of the Bureau, again pioneering, and fully appreciating the broader field of study, activity and service made possible by a government position.

A preliminary report stated the purpose of the Bureau as follows: To make a practical study of community problems with a view to (a) promoting a more general interest in social welfare, (b) providing expert advice and assistance to any community desirous of organizing its forces for more efficient citizenship, (c) securing data which will form a basis of sound and progressive legislation. The first lines of research to be undertaken were: (a) a general survey of social conditions in rural communities, (b) a preliminary inquiry regarding mental defectives, (c) an intensive study of a number of Ukrainian settlements.

In connection with the survey of rural communities, through the Departments of Education questionnaires were sent out to all the rural teachers in

the Prairie Provinces; and through the Bureau to clergymen and heads of Women's Institutes and farmers' organizations. A great deal of first hand and accurate information was thus collected. This report was not published, but through Mr Woodsworth's almost continuous speaking and with the generous co-operation of an increasingly socially-minded press, in particular the *Grain Growers' Guide*, the facts of the survey got through to the Western public. The second line of research, the care of mental defectives, reached the stage of a preliminary report, and again through the press and addresses the facts became generally known, not merely tabulated for future, if any, reference.

The third and most exhaustive study dealt with the Ukrainians—a significant piece of research, since approximately two hundred thousand of this particular national group are living in Canada. This investigation, the first of its kind in the Dominion, involved a house-to-house canvass of over five hundred Ukrainian homes, and again the sending out of innumerable questionnaires to those who knew the facts from personal observation. The report which followed in due course gives a dramatic picture of the life of the Ukrainians in Western Canada and of that distant country on the shores of the Black Sea from which they had been driven by some tragedy, political, social, or economic. Turning over the pages, one's attention is frequently caught, for instance: "Ninety per cent. of the Ukrainians are tillers of the soil, as they have been for a thousand years. Various forms of co-

operation, especially the British system, have developed rapidly. Fully eighty per cent. of all the co-operative organizations in the Russian Empire are to be found in the Ukraine." Again, "The Ukrainians hold an honourable place in literature. Of all Slavic peoples they are the greatest in popular lyrics. One collector gathered eight thousand in a single district." And this from a Ukrainian's life story in Canada, only one, and not to be generalized from: "At Yorktown our goods were placed on a number of wagons and we went out on foot into the country to look for land. As you see now, we chose our homesteads here, dug our first home in the earth and began our farming. Later on I left my wife and worked as a day labourer wherever I could get work. I went out in my Ukrainian dress; when I came back disguised in Canadian clothes my wife could not recognize me." It is another one of the minor tragedies of the war that this report, its one hundred and fifty-six pages neatly typewritten, still remains in its stiff red case, unpublished and unknown to the Canadian people.

At the end of nine months, on December 18th, 1916, Mr. Woodsworth presented to the three governments his first report, showing a staggering amount of work accomplished. In addition to the three studies, it mentions casually one hundred and twenty-four addresses. Many of these were given to foreign-born audiences and were translated into Polish, German, Ukrainian and other languages, and through the papers published by different national groups received a wide circulation through the West.

To trail Mr. Woodsworth on his lecture tours would have been an education in things Western, including listening in at such diverse meetings as the Rotary Club luncheon in Winnipeg and the convention of the Ukrainian-born Canadians in Saskatoon. One would like to have been among the audience in Saskatoon, hearing him speak on "Canadian Citizenship." Using the Canada maple as a symbol, he made a plea for beauty as well as industry. "On our wind-swept Western plains we must not fail to cultivate the maple tree with the arts, poetry and music, with the hospitality and aspirations which it symbolizes." Such ideas must have found a ready response in the Ukrainian mind, for one is reminded of a fact observed by a Canadian university student while working with a railway-construction camp in the West. "The Ukrainians," he said, "were exceptionally clean and neat and from the moment spring arrived kept fresh flowers in their tents." The flowers, perhaps, brought back to them old Easter festivals which they celebrated at home in the springtime of the year.

As in his previous office Mr. Woodsworth gave innumerable interviews: to "young men and women enquiring about social work as a profession, students collecting material for essays, heads of institutions needing technical information, volunteer workers anxious to gain a broader understanding of the whole field of social work, newspaper writers working up special articles, members of government seeking suggestions *re* rearranging depart-

ments or outlining policies." The room itself must have been a pleasant, intellectually-provoking place for an interview, with its colourful exhibit of foreign handicrafts and small but growing reference library.

Mr. Woodsworth now began to develop plans for the work of the following year, which was to include: an enquiry into child welfare, a study of social conditions among the Germans in Western Canada and a study of the effect of prohibitory legislation on crime. These plans, however, were destined never to be carried out, at least by one who had them so much at heart. Coming events were beginning to cast shadows.

To make the picture of these days complete, one must recall that all these activities were carried on during the period of the war, now dragging wearily into its third year. Ypres was over, Vimy Ridge was still to come. In the overwrought state of national feeling it was difficult, if not impossible, for the average citizen to recognize the character of war. There is no excuse now; there was then. Many pictures come to mind, still with power to confuse the judgment—one, of a group of young and happy warriors waving good-bye from the end of the last coach of a rapidly vanishing train. Newspapers published photographs which portrayed only war's glorious side. Not until now, sixteen years afterwards, can the other side be revealed in pictures with terrible comments: "Man marks the earth with ruin—and the sea." "Modern war calculates death by mathematics." "War's

savagery shown on all fronts—Canadians in Flanders, Frenchmen storming under their eternal bar-rages at Verdun, and Italians heaped in an Alpine gully where some mysterious fate overlooked them." Throughout those days, months and years nothing could have been more difficult than to hear the still, small voice of reason and brotherhood speaking through earthquake, wind and fire.

Mr Woodsworth, although all along feeling convinced of the futility of war methods, and believing that force was neither the way of brotherhood nor the scientific way of solving international entanglements, nevertheless had taken no part in anti-war demonstrations or organizations. But at this point the Federal government decided upon a National Service registration scheme which later proved to be the first step toward conscription, and which he and many others felt brought in an entirely new element—the forcing of men to fight who were opposed to war. These were trying days for him. He was not well and his revered father was stricken with an illness from which he did not recover. Nevertheless, after serious consideration and after consultation with Mrs. Woodsworth, with full knowledge of its possible effects upon the work of the Bureau, upon his own future and that of his family, he wrote the following letter, published in the *Free Press* on December 28, 1916:

To the Editor of the *Free Press*.

Sir:—Yesterday morning there came to me, a circular letter asking my help in making the National Service registration scheme a success. As I am

opposed to that scheme, it would seem my duty as a citizen to state that opposition and the grounds on which it is based. For this end I would ask the courtesy of your columns in presenting the following considerations:

(1) The citizens of Canada have been given no opportunity of expressing themselves with regard to the far-reaching principle involved in this matter.

(2) Since "life is more than meat and the body more than raiment" conscription of material possessions should in all justice precede an attempt to force men to risk their lives and the welfare of their families.

(3) It is not at all clear who is to decide whether or not a man's present work is of national importance. It is stated that the brewery workers in England are exempt. What guarantee have we that Canadian decisions will be any more sound, and who are the members of the board that decides the question of such importance to the individual?

(4) How is registration or subsequent conscription, physical or moral, to be enforced? Is intimidation to be used? Is blacklisting to be employed? What other method?

Is this measure to be equally enforced across the country? For example, in Quebec, or among the Menomunies in the West?

This registration is no mere census. It seems to look in the direction of a measure of conscription. As some of us cannot conscientiously engage in military service, we are bound to resist what—if the war continues—will inevitably lead to forced service.

(Signed) J. S. WOODSWORTH.

WINNIPEG,

December 22, (1916).

The inevitable happened. Mr. Woodworth was called to the office of the Cabinet Minister to whom he was responsible, who pointed out to him that in the state of public opinion such publications were embarrassing to the government. Mr. Woodworth replied that he was not associated with any organized anti war propaganda, that this issue was in no way connected with the work of the Bureau, and that in an important national matter he felt it his duty as a citizen to express his convictions. To this there was no reply and the interview ended. A few days later a letter came from the Minister stating briefly that the three governments had decided not to continue joint action in the matter of the Bureau. "The Bureau will therefore be closed on the 31st of January, or some days later as may be necessary for you to finish the work in hand." The phrase "finish the work in hand" has a certain pathos in it, perhaps an ironic humour, as the social and educational work which had been contemplated could never really have been finished.

The Bureau was closed, and with it the door to all professional and government service. There was hardly a word of protest or encouragement from the many friends made during those years, many of whom indeed did not learn what had happened until some time later. There was no comment except that his action was quite unnecessary and certainly unwise. There was no recognition of services rendered. Almost unnoticed he slipped out of government service and out of the many activities in which he had been engaged for so long.

The next five years were difficult ones. He had severed his connection with the government and it seemed as if his life work were ended. "But the ways of the Spirit, who can tell?" As events turned out, five years after the loss of his government position, he walked up Parliament Hill in Ottawa, and took his place in the House of Commons as one of the first representatives of Labour—with undiminished vision of a new social order in Canada, and undiminished purpose to work for that end.

4. INTERIM AT GIBSON'S LANDING

About twenty miles up the coast from Vancouver, at the entrance to Howe Sound, there is a little shelf on the Pacific called Gibson's Landing. The houses lie scattered along this strip of coast. To the east of the settlement stretches the Britannia range, its peaks snow-covered for part of the year, while behind rises Mount Elphinstone.

To a little Methodist mission established here, by a curious turn of the wheel of circumstance, Mr. and Mrs. Woodsworth came with their family in the spring of 1917. Leaving Winnipeg and having no definite plans, they had set out for the coast and for a few weeks had remained in Victoria. While there some friends of Mr. Woodsworth's in the British Columbia Conference suggested that he should supply in the Mission at Gibson's Landing. This he decided to do; and so we find the Woodsworth family beginning there a new life, shut off from the old as though by an impenetrable wall.

But in many ways it was a happy, adventuresome experience for both parents and children. There was no road to the big city to the south, only a tri-weekly service by gasoline boat—*The Marine Express*. Out of school hours were filled with childhood's chief delights—voyages of discovery to the islands, bonfires at Dougal's Point, fishing parties ending with picnics, climbing the steep trail up Elphinstone to the logging camp, and watching the logs and shingle bolts come sliding down the long flumes and plunging into the ocean.

In the summer Gibson's Landing blossomed into a busy resort, adding to its permanent population of about one hundred and forty families, summer cottagers from Vancouver. The families who remained throughout the year were of an unusually interesting and varied type, the mixed character of the population being increased by the fact that several logging camps in the neighbourhood employed Chinese, Japanese and Hindu labour.

Mr Woodsworth set himself to his task in this altogether new and strange setting; and it was not long before he had called at every home in the district. The various stations of the mission were visited all the year round by means of a little launch inherited with the mission property, which chugged its way back and forth. There were services in the tiny church and study groups and "community night" at the school house. And as he has never been able to separate spiritual values from the ordinary, every-day life of people, all the while he was observing the manner of life of this unusual

assortment of human beings and trying to think out plans for improving it. He became interested in the co-operative store, which led him to another first experience, this time in the economic sphere. The issue was clear—co-operation for the good of the whole community as against the interests of one individual. Unfortunately this gentleman was a leading member of the little church.

By the end of the year a letter, presumably from the whole circuit, but in reality from this individual alone, went to the Conference asking for Mr Woodsworth's withdrawal. The Conference felt that it could not refuse this request. Not even in an obscure mission was Mr. Woodsworth permitted to continue his work.

June, 1918. The war was in its fourth year. Nothing had happened to lead Mr. Woodsworth to alter his belief that "war was the inevitable outcome of the existing social organization with its undemocratic forms of government and competitive system of industry." Strangest of all to him was the fact that many Christian churches had become in effect recruiting centres and seemed to be showing little dependence upon spiritual resources. Driven by these convictions, believing that he had finally tested out the consistency of the organized church, and feeling that it was becoming increasingly difficult to improve social conditions through this channel, he again, after the passing of eleven years, sent in his resignation to the Methodist Conference. In giving his reasons, he said in part:

Permanent peace can come only through the de-

velopment of good will. There is no redemptive power in physical force. . . militarism cannot be driven out by the power of militarism without the successful nations themselves becoming militarized For me, the teachings and spirit of Jesus are absolutely irreconcilable with the advocacy of war. Christianity may be an impossible idealism, but so long as I hold it, ever so unworthily, I must refuse, as far as may be, to participate in or to influence others to participate in war.

Under these circumstances he offered his resignation, and this time it was accepted.

Until his letter on conscription to the *Free Press*, doors of useful public service had opened with almost bewildering rapidity; now every possible avenue seemed blocked. A position was offered him as Secretary of the Non-Partisan League of Alberta, a political movement among the farmers, but a crop-failure effectively prevented any development of this nature. What was he to do next?



III

LIFE IN THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

LIFE IN THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

L LONGSHORING, PORT OF VANCOUVER

Mr. Woodsworth, now one of the unemployed, and still in poor health, with financial resources almost exhausted, went to Vancouver in search of work. There was only one occupation left for him, the lowest in the social scale—unskilled labour.

At seven o'clock one gloomy morning, in an old yellow shaker, he joined a group of labourers standing in the drizzling rain outside the Longshoremen's Hall—unemployed waiting for a job. One of them had had no work for three days, the wife of another was ill and work was a terrible necessity. Men of many nationalities stood there together, a Scotchman from the Clyde, a stolid Englishman, "Slavs," "Chinks," "Japs," and "Dagoes." The secretary of the Union came out, chose five men, and the rest continued to stand.

Mr. Woodsworth found lodging in a worker's home, where the bath did not work. He ate his meals in cheap restaurants, joining in conversation with the workers, and he saw life in Canada as at least one group of workers saw it, and certainly more clearly than he had been able to do either as a minister or as a social worker. Even his feeling as head of a family was different, but it was a feeling, he now realized with a shock, quite customary

among the men of many working-class families—one of insecurity and helplessness.

He did not belong to a Union but daily took his place with the unemployed outside the Union Hall. A curious incident opened the way to membership. During the influenza epidemic of 1918, the business agent of the Union, who was living alone, became critically ill and a nurse could not be secured. Mr. Woodsworth offered to stay with him and tended him until he died. When next the books of the Union were opened for additional members, Mr. Woodsworth's name was put forward and accepted.

Inside the Union he had more opportunities for work, but even so, and after cutting his personal expenses to the bone, he found that he could not begin to support his family. The terms "living wage" and "class struggle" began to take on a new significance for him. "We read of large profits in the paper and bitterly compare this with the meagre sums which barely suffice to keep our families at the lowest standard of living." The reason why labour put such value on the right to organize and to strike was driven home by personal experience, which later helped him to understand the causes of the strike in Winnipeg. "I remember one day when piling heavy rice sacks, being almost exhausted, when the business agent came along and it was discovered that under the Union schedule we had a right to two more men in the gang than the foreman had allowed. Our agent insisted on two men being added. Had the foreman refused, our gang would have quit work, as would all the gang on that dock.

Only the helpless, individual workman understands the absolute necessity for a strong Union."

Longshoremen are only one among many kinds of manual labour, the daily grind of which, the long hours, the monotony, the danger to health, the risk of bodily injury, the lack of opportunities for advancement and the comparatively small wages, are as completely unknown to the middle and upper class Canadian citizen as though labouring men belonged to another planet. Mr. Woodsworth's account of his experience helps one to picture something of the lives of the human beings who spend their days on the Vancouver docks. From it comes the following:

We are working on the slings—a big ship from China is discharging her cargo. Our hatch is rice—not the big two hundred and twenty-four pound sacks—that's heavy work. Only the one hundred pound sacks. As the sling dumps these on the docks our business is to load them on the trucks. It is seven o'clock in the morning. The air is bracing. The sun sparkles on the water and lights up the mountains across the Inlet. My mate and I, each armed with a hook, reach for the first bag. How light it is! One—two—three—four—even the fourth is tossed easily to its place. A push that sets the truck in balance and off the trucker goes. Another pushes an empty truck to our feet. One—two—three—four—there is a swing to things. . . . "There's the *Maccaro*," exclaims my mate as the big Australian boat swings into view at the end of the pier. . . . How hot the sun is getting! I look at my watch—9.30—half the morning gone. One—two—three—four—the sacks were getting heavier,

the sun beat mercilessly down. "Me no like heat," said my mate, "me from mountains in Ecuador—snow on mountains." . . . Surely the bags were heavier. Thrown on carelessly, a whole truck load slipped to the floor. My mate uttered a curse and blamed the trucker. . . . Again my watch. "Ten minutes, boys." Ten minutes till noon and the respite of an hour, and then again—one—two—three—four—another five hours and then perhaps overtime—then home too weary to wash up to go anywhere. . . . To-morrow at it again by seven. One—two—three—four—long hours, heavy work, monotonous, no personal interest, merely a rankling sense of the injustice of the present system. . . .

Sir John Wilson warns against the growth of Socialism, does not believe "that progress will appear except through individual initiative—that the world will take its slow way to the uplands" Sir John's eloquence moves me not! One—two—three—four—Sir John fails to understand the working man's psychology. Sir John still believes in the existing system. The workman has ceased to believe in it.

Another experience.

A cargo of Japanese oranges was being unloaded from an Oriental liner and as quickly as possible placed in cars to be rushed to prairie points in time for the Christmas trade. In the transfer from the ship's hold to the dock and from the dock to the cars a number of cases were broken open, some accidentally, some carelessly, some intentionally. The little golden balls frequently rolled to the floor under the feet of the men and horses. The freight handlers had a chance to quench their thirst and enjoy Christmas oranges before they came on the market—and all without money and without price.

These little Japanese oranges opened up the whole question of class ethics. . . . If the law allowed the big man to steal from the consumers on a wholesale scale, why shouldn't an employee take advantage of his opportunities? We need a new conception of life and a new social order. Among our native tribes one did not steal from another. When he had need he took and the other gave. It is under so called civilization, with its keen competition, with its callous disregard for human welfare, that stealing has developed. Stealing is a symptom of a deep-seated social disease. . . . When society becomes a big family, the little chap will not need to steal a morsel from his big brother. There will be enough for all and to spare.

Mr. Woodsworth began to attend the meetings of his Union. He found his previous experience as a speaker gradually being put to use—in a different setting but in a group in which he could speak and work with intellectual and spiritual freedom. Convinced of the futility both of the organized church and of organized charity to cure the ills of society, now in the Labour movement he began to feel much closer to the heart of the problem and to catch glimpses of a possible solution, but one which would involve fundamental changes in the economic system.

He helped to organize the Federated Labour Party of British Columbia and became one of the regular speakers at the propaganda meetings, held on Sunday evenings in various theatres in Vancouver. He wrote regularly for the *B. C. Federationist*, the official Labour newspaper. And what did he talk and write about!—direct action, the third inter-

national? He continued to do what he has always done—to present a more just social order. And in particular he now tried to bring out and express the idealism in Labour's aim and to help in the interpretation of Labour's position to those outside of it. He pointed out that in the Labour movement those closest in touch saw a continual surrendering of individual interests to the furtherance of the interests of the masses. It must be understood as much more than a mere party; it was the growing tide of social democracy, international in scope and based fundamentally on principles of justice.

New charts were prepared. At one of the Sunday meetings, using his chart on "Immigration," he handled the alien question without gloves. "There should be no discrimination. If a man is a man it does not matter under what particular flag he is born or what colour he may be." The term "co-operative commonwealth" appears for the first time, and he is moving slowly on to the view that Labour must educate itself and be prepared to enter the political field, not for immediate Trade Union reforms but for a new economic and social order.

Members of the Labour party were beginning to think in terms of a different kind of education for their children; for neither in the day nor in the Sunday schools did they feel that children were being given any understanding of the workaday world in which they lived or of the economic system of which they were a part, and, in many cases, of which they were the victims. As a result of a growing demand, children's classes were started on Sunday after-

rooms, and in this new field Mr. Woodsworth showed considerable versatility in putting modern economic teaching in a form which children could understand. He began a special section in the *Federationist*, articles from which could be used as a basis for talks and discussion. He certainly enjoyed this mental journey into the realm of childhood. His articles, if collected, would make an excellent primer of economics for use in Canadian schools. He still has a few of these quite innocent and delightful talks in his files, but the remainder were captured in a raid on the Labour headquarters in Vancouver by the Mounted Police, during the period of hysteria and fear following the Winnipeg strike. The police were on the hunt for seditious literature.

One of the children's courses was as follows:

1. Who Set the Dinner Table? The many who help us—Our part in the world's work.

2. The Age of Homespun. Primitive industries—Production for use—Independence.

3. Making Clothes and Wearing Them. Producers not always consumers—Masters and servants—Exchange and exploitation.

4. The Great Inventors. Arkwright, Stephenson, etc.

5. Harnessing Water and Steam. The industrial revolution—Greater output—Tools of production in the hands of the few.

6. The Fight with the Machine. The Factory Acts—Wages and conditions of work—Woman and child labour

7. Learning to Live Together. Life in a modern city—Living in close quarters—Co-operation.

8. Overcoming Distance. Transportation and communication.

Only one quotation can be given, in this instance from the study of the Factory system. One cannot remember any history book giving so humane and yet realistic an interpretation.

Partly through the workers joining together and forcing the employers to do something; partly because the employers began to see that after all cheap labour did not really pay, and partly through the efforts of kind hearted, justice loving men who pointed out to the people that such conditions were a disgrace to any country, parliament made laws that did away with some of the worst evils. Factories and living places were made more healthful. Hours were shortened and little children were not allowed to go to work, but instead were sent to school. But the fight is still on . . . many men are out of jobs, many have not enough to eat or to wear. Many work long hours, many work in dangerous or unhealthy places; more women are at work outside their homes than ever before. What are we going to do about it!

While Mr. Woodsworth was working in Vancouver, Mrs. Woodsworth and the children remained at Gibson's Landing. Before her marriage, Mrs. Woodsworth had been a high-school teacher in Ontario and at this period, in order to assist with the family finances, was teaching in the school at the Landing. The forces of reaction did not leave her untouched. The same person who had worked against Mr. Woodsworth now attempted to have her removed. But by this time the whole community had rallied its forces. A detailed statement was sent to the Inspector, who paid a visit to the school



LUCY L. WOODSWORTH.

■

■

■

■

and at a public meeting in the school-house declared not only that he was satisfied, but also that the students were fortunate in having so well qualified, capable and devoted a teacher.

But to return to Vancouver. Work was becoming slack. At this point there came to Mr. Woodsworth an invitation from Winnipeg to make a tour of Western Canada in the interests of the Labour movement. The war was at last over, and an effort must be made to pull together the forward looking forces. Giving part of what money remained to Mrs. Woodsworth, he took the balance to cover travelling expenses and set off on what proved to be an eventful and fateful journey. He was received in many places with genuine interest and good will, and evidently was winning a distinctive place for himself in the ranks of Labour; unconsciously he was heading into the Winnipeg strike.

2. THE WINNIPEG STRIKE

In the gardens facing the Louvre in Paris there is a statue of a woman, majestic, strong, undaunted. There is no title to explain the meaning of the figure except the date, 1914.

No citizen of Winnipeg, one imagines, needs any thing but the date, June, 1919, to bring back the experiences of the general strike, when hundreds of workers walked out in support of the machinists and their demands. A report thus described its dramatic beginning: In less than two hours the whole productive industry of a whole city was tied up, as

men and women, boys and girls came trooping out of shop and store and factory. Not a wheel was turning in the big plants, not a street car was visible, and on the face of every worker was a cheerful smile of confidence in the justice of their cause and the firm determination to assert the workers' right to organize in any manner for any lawful purpose which would better their conditions and assure to all a living wage.

Mr. Woodsworth, on his way from Prince Rupert to Edmonton, learned for the first time that serious trouble had broken out in Winnipeg. Each speaking engagement on his eastward journey brought him nearer the scene of action. On his arrival in Saskatoon, a prominent citizen and very old friend suggested that, knowing so many people in Winnipeg on both sides of the question, he might possibly be of some use in the difficult task of reconciling the two opposed points of view. Reaching Winnipeg during the third week of the strike he was astonished and moved by the unanimity and quiet determination of the workers, and decided to try and help in the interpretation of their case.

The complete story of the strike can probably never be written. Time has already performed her usual kindly office of erasing much of the bitterness then engendered. But during this whole period it was inevitable that feeling should run high and that different groups and individuals should interpret the causes and events of the strike according to their various points of view. Many Winnipeg citizens were convinced that the strike was connected with

the One Big Union, a movement which was at the time carrying on revolutionary propaganda and urging the workers of the world to unite. The workers stated again and again that the strike was a spontaneous uprising of the workers themselves to improve their condition; that they had no guns or military equipment of any kind; that they were not aiming at revolution but at a settlement of their grievances by peaceable negotiation.

The following account is an attempt to give something of Mr. Woodsworth's connection with the strike, of his point of view and of the background which formed it. It was this experience which, as we shall see, was in large measure responsible for sending him on to Ottawa, as a member for Winnipeg in the Canadian House of Commons.

The causes of the strike were many. The immediate one was the refusal of the "iron masters" to recognize the right of the machinists to organize as they chose and to bargain through their representatives. The "iron masters" locked out their employees. Again, resentment still lingered over the fact that after the strike of the postal workers in 1918, no satisfactory settlement had been agreed upon. In addition to the local grievances there was also general dissatisfaction and unrest. During the war the cost of living had jumped sky high, but although certain wages such as those of skilled munition workers had greatly increased, as usual the general standard of wages had not improved in proportion. A great steel company reported the largest profits in its history; enormous

profits were made by the Canadian textile manufacturing industries, not to mention the packing firms. One of Winnipeg's leading newspapers thus commented on the report of the cost of living committee of the House of Commons, which was then making an investigation: "It must seem to the public that wherever inquiry has been made into the process of trade and commerce in Canada, profiteering of the most shameless character is exposed. Production for profiteering is endangering the constitution, undermining the safety of the community and bringing democratic institutions into disrepute."

Moreover, conditions throughout the world were unsettled. Information regarding the revolution in Russia and working class activities there and elsewhere had been coming to Canadian workers through the channels of American, British and Continental labour papers and progressive magazines. These gave an interpretation of events strikingly different from the meagre and one-sided accounts which appeared in the Canadian press, which, consciously or unconsciously, has never given the viewpoint of intelligent and progressive labour and did not do so during the whole period of the strike. Almost without exception every reference made by Canadian newspapers was unfavourable to the strikers.

As the days wore on, in spite of the orderly conduct of the workers, the citizens became more and more alarmed, and exaggerated reports spread throughout the city. The strikers were declared to

be planning a revolution; a soviet was being set up on the banks of the Red River engineered from Russia—a plot of alien enemies! A Citizens' Committee of one thousand sprang into existence and worked strenuously for what they believed to be right. Immediately full-page pictures appeared in the daily papers, one of which showed an alien on one side and on the other a loyal Canadian soldier. The title ran: "There is no room in Canada for the undesirable alien who insults our flag, intimidates our citizens and demands Soviet government." Pictures such as these did not give a fair presentation of the facts, for of the three hundred men on the Strikers' Committee scarcely one was foreign-born, and large numbers of returned soldiers were on the side of the strikers.

Some time previously there had grown up in Winnipeg a Labour church which held services on Sunday evenings. During the strike the attendance at these meetings grew so large that they had to be held in Victoria Park. Since the workers now had plenty of leisure time, various groups of them arranged meetings of their own. All of which resulted in there coming into being what someone cleverly dubbed, "A Workers' University." Lecturers were brought in to explain the principles of Trade Unionism, discussions followed; later continued by groups of members meeting on every street corner. Policies were outlined, reports of the progress of the strike presented and vacillating members instructed and strengthened. The Strikers' Committee published a daily bulletin containing news of the strike

and general information on working-class principles and activities, which the workers read from beginning to end. One's attention is caught by a sentence: 'An attempt to dam the Niagara in the hope that it would never reach the sea would be no more foolish than the attempt to dam labour from its resistless, onward sweep toward its natural outlet—co-operative industry.'

A member of the Canadian Bar, resident in Winnipeg, wrote a letter to a friend in England under date of July, 1919, which was later published in *World Wide*. He remarked that in the beginning the subjects for discussion were collective bargaining and the recognition of the Unions, but as time went on Socialism became the main theme. He then goes on to say:

"I have never seen an audience drunk in the gospel of Socialism so eagerly, a condemnation of the existing social and industrial system and their status in the system, a demand that the workers be given a large share in the control of industry. In fact the most popular speakers were those who advocated straight Socialism from an audience who, I would say, possessed more than average intelligence on the subject of economics, for I hold that the average worker is better educated in this science than the average business man."

Mr. Woodsworth's first personal contact with the strike was on Sunday evening, June 9th, at one of the huge gatherings in Victoria Park, where ten thousand people had assembled. Three weeks before, it had been arranged for him to speak in Winnipeg on that date. Canon Scott, of Quebec, first

addressed that vast audience. As the beloved Padre stepped up to the platform, cheer after cheer greeted him. The purport of his remarks was that every man was his brother and every woman his sister and they should deal with each other as members of one family.

Mr. Woodaworth was the next speaker. It was his first public appearance in Winnipeg since his departure two years before, but he was, of course, known to many in the audience from his earlier associations and also from reports of his work in the cause of Labour which had been sifting through from Vancouver. When he faced that great audience he was cheered to the echo; when he finished, hundreds pressed forward to shake his hand. And what had he given them? the same reasonable, thoughtful, educational talk that he always gives. In this case he first congratulated the strikers on the preservation of law and order and decried the use of force, but he went on to point out that they must be united. As the manufacturers and bankers each had their Association and the farmers their Council of Agriculture, to look after their particular interests, so the workers must organize and insist on having a voice in the fixing of their wages and in the establishing of just conditions of labour. All were workers who served with hand or brain, and the day would come when all those things which were produced by the workers would be owned by them. Sooner or later constructive action must come. Why not now?

A few days later he wrote a letter, in an attempt

to interpret the case of the workers to his other Winnipeg friends. He did not try to minimize the serious nature of a general strike, the suffering and inconvenience to the public and the danger of public disorder, but there were other considerations.

The general public is up in arms. They have suffered inconvenience and loss. Why, they say, should innocent non-combatants suffer? The general public has not been innocent. It has been guilty of the greatest sin, the sin of indifference. Thousands have suffered through the years under the industrial system. The general public has not realized it. It has not touched them. Let me assure my friends that the strikers are as kindly and reasonable people as they are. If only the public could understand the real position, we might have peace. Give men work under decent conditions and at a remuneration sufficient to maintain themselves and their families and you will not need any legislation against strikes.

But the strike continued. In spite of the fact that the Strikers' Committee was throughout ready to negotiate, the Citizens' Committee took the stand that there could be no consideration of the workers' claims until the general strike was called off; there was no guarantee even then that such would be the case. The Mayor and City Council seemed helpless, while the provincial government seemed almost as much at a loss. At this critical moment the Federal Government decided to step in. The Commissioner of Mounted Police went West to investigate, likewise the Honourable Gideon Robertson of the Department of Labour; while Mr. Alfred Andrews, a

Winnipeg lawyer, acted in a dual capacity as representing the Citizens' Committee and as a kind of deputy in Winnipeg of Mr Meighen, Minister of Justice in the Federal Government.

Then a most extraordinary event occurred in Ottawa. In less than one hour, an unheard of proceeding, legislation was passed through both Houses of Parliament and received the royal assent. It was an amendment to the Immigration Act whereby any immigrant, British or foreign, without regard to the length of time he had lived in Canada, could be deported as an undesirable citizen by action of the immigration department without trial by jury, the regular process of law. At the same time there was passed the now famous amendment to the Criminal Code, known as Section 98.

This legislation was evidently aimed at breaking the strike, not by reasonable negotiation but by the arrest of the workers' leaders. In the fourth week at an early morning hour, policemen entered the homes of a number of men prominent in the strike, ordered them out of bed, and hurried them off to Stony Mountain Penitentiary—men who for years had been respected and law-abiding citizens of Winnipeg. It was announced that they would be deported within a few hours, but this act caused such a storm of protest, not only in Canada but in the old country, that deportation was not proceeded with. One of the leaders was a returned soldier. As a result of his arrest, from four to five thousand returned men, standing in the pouring rain in Victoria Park, passed the following resolution:

"This body of returned soldiers, in mass meeting assembled, go on record as protesting the action of the Dominion Government in confining one of our comrades in the penitentiary, which is against all our ideas of British fair play and democratic government."

Among the leaders arrested was the editor of the *Strike Bulletin*, the Rev. William Ivens. Someone from the Ivens' home telephoned Mr. Woodsworth, who went immediately to the Labour Temple to learn what had happened. There he met Mrs. Heaps and a friend, both of whose husbands had been carried off. He then went to the home of Mr. Fred Dixon, M.L.A. and together they proceeded to the little office where the *Bulletin* was printed. The two men decided that since they felt the issue to be one of free speech, they must at all costs keep the *Bulletin* going. Dixon said "J. S., you act as Editor and I'll act as reporter." And so, to the amazement of the authorities, an extra appeared that afternoon, giving the complete story of the arrests.

About this time the one serious riot of the strike occurred, causing the tragic death of a messenger boy, injury to a man who subsequently died, and some hundred casualties. It was not deliberately staged. The members of the regular police force had their own Union, which had voted 149 to 11 for the strike, but at the request of the Strikers' Committee they remained on duty to preserve law and order. Now, however, most of them resigned rather than sign a declaration presented to them by the

City Council to the effect that they would have no relations with the Trades and Labour Council. The riot was largely the result of the inability of a hastily improvised and inexperienced police force to handle a critical situation.

As editor of the Bulletin, Mr. Woodsworth had access to the strikers' committee meetings and continued to find no thought of violent revolution, but likewise no thought of yielding. For nearly a week he and Mr. Dixon brought out the paper, then a lawyer and plainclothesman appeared with a warrant for his arrest. He was searched, taken to the police court and that same evening transferred to the Provincial jail, where he was detained from Monday to Friday, then released on bail. Only once before had Mr. Woodsworth seen the inside of this particular jail, when some years previously, as a prominent social worker, he had conducted a group of university students through on a tour of investigation. One of Mr. Woodsworth's young sons (the family were still living at Gibson's Landing) had a difficult time in explaining his father's arrest to one of his little friends but finally hit upon the following explanation "Father was put in jail because he spoke a little on the government."

By this time the strike was crumbling. Public meetings had been banned, thus removing one of the chief sources of revenue for relief funds, while many of the workers' families, at the end of their resources, were faced with starvation. The rumour spreading abroad that the Metal Trades Employers had accepted collective bargaining caused a certain

amongst of wavering. There seemed too to be a disposition on the part of the Provincial Government to appoint a committee to go into the causes of the trouble. And so after six weeks the great strike ended—the most peaceable from a physical point of view in the annals of organized industry in Canada, but the most bitter from the standpoint of class antagonism, and with object lessons enough in it to illustrate the whole complex problem of the weaknesses of human nature and of the present economic system.

As a summary, one cannot do better, perhaps, than quote from Dr. Devine's statement in *The Survey* of October, 1919. Dr. Devine, one of America's foremost authorities in the field of social work, went to Winnipeg shortly after the close of the strike, interviewed the strike leaders in jail and the leading members of the citizens' committee. By this time the citizens' committee had issued a forty page pamphlet recounting its activities during the whole period of the strike. Dr. Devine had this and a mass of other material to work from. Gratefully acknowledging the kindness of both sides in putting all possible information at his disposal he then writes:

The Citizens' Committee. . . . seem to have been actuated by the highest motives and to have worked heroically for what they believed to be the general welfare. Their glaring mistake is as obvious to any open-minded observer as is the injustice of the more extreme labour men in characterizing the Citizens' Committee. In their zeal for law and order they have egregiously misjudged the general strike and

its leaders. To the present observer these men do not seem to be engaged in sedition. They do not in the least resemble law breakers or revolutionists. These conclusions put forward with all diffidence, are yet held with the utmost confidence. I predict that no fair and open minded jury will ever convict them of the charges which have been brought against them, just as no fair minded citizens of Winnipeg in years to come will think that the Committee of One Thousand was made up of self conscious hypocrites who took pleasure in snatching innocent men from their families in the dead of night with no motive except that of petty revenge.

I find in what the Citizens' Committee itself called the "whole miserable business" a vast amount of evidence of the capacity of men of English speech to misunderstand and misjudge one another but I find no evidence of seditious conspiracy, of treason, of Bolshevism, or revolution. I find ample evidence of discontent with existing conditions and a determination to change them. I find differences of opinion as to policies and methods and I find evidence of a sense of increasing social solidarity, of the necessity for political as well as economic action by labour both to protect its own interests and as a means of advancing the general interest, which labour like other economic groups is apt to identify with its own interests. Believing in the freedom of discussion and in the freedom of the press I find no trace of danger in the Calgary Labour Conference or in the Strikers' Bulletin or in the Labour Church, but I find some danger of Bolshevism as a result of the repression of speech, the deportation of aliens without public hearing on specific charges, the imprisonment of labour leaders without bail, and the arrest of men like Woodsworth and Dixon on such flimsy evidence as has been made public.

Following Mr Woodsworth's arrest, Dixon eluded the police and kept the strike bulletin running for three days longer, but on the cessation of the strike gave himself up to the authorities.

The strike being over, the workers now began a Canada-wide defense campaign to finance the trial of the eight strike leaders charged with seditious conspiracy and of Dixon and Woodsworth charged with seditious libel. A Defense League was organized to raise funds, for which twenty five thousand dollars' worth of "liberty bonds" were printed. The slogan was "One day's pay for Liberty" and hundreds of workers across the country bought bonds up to this amount. The Big Ten, as the strike leaders were called, were all good speakers and toured the country from coast to coast, arousing interest not only in the causes and events of the strike but also in the economic and social problems faced by the workers.

Mr. Woodsworth's travels took him West, where he visited thirty nine towns, and East where he touched Kenora, Fort William, Toronto, Hamilton, Brantford, Windsor and Montreal. He spoke chiefly to Trades and Labour Councils and emphasized the lessons taught by the strike, namely the interdependence of all groups in the community, the solidarity of Labour, and the need for Labour to take its place in the political forum. On his Western tour he made a special effort to interpret labour and farm groups to each other, on one occasion addressing an audience of one thousand grain growers on the aims of Labour.

These meetings were made exciting and also nerve-racking by the presence of the Mounted Police who, all during the period before the trial, kept the accused men under careful surveillance. At a Sunday afternoon meeting of the Forum in Toronto at which Mr Woodsworth gave a dramatic recital of the strike, he began by stating that although he knew there were plain-clothesmen in the audience, he would tell the story of the strike exactly as he had observed it. A friend who attended the meeting remarked how worn and almost shabby he looked.

Sunday, July 25th, 1919, the anniversary of the Labour Church, was an occasion long to be remembered by the workers of Winnipeg. During the day twenty-four crowded meetings were held in various parts of the city, and in the evening, as the strike leaders were to be present, the Industrial Bureau was packed to its utmost capacity. The men had just been allowed out on bail and as they stepped to the platform the applause was spontaneous and prolonged. Workers who understood the situation and all other thinking people recognized the difference between criminally-minded men and those who suffer for a cause.

Nine months after the close of the strike the trial of the strike leaders took place. It lasted some nine weeks and was certainly one of the most extraordinary in the history of Canadian Courts. In the case of conspiracy, the procedure is different from that in use in ordinary criminal cases, dating back almost unchanged to Star Chamber days. The effect

is that if a man is named as being in a conspiracy, anything which any other of the alleged conspirators has done either before or after the alleged crime may be brought in as evidence against him.

W A Pritchard in his address to the jury, a masterly presentation of the history and principles of Socialism, thus commented on this fact.

All through the eight weeks that the Crown have been building up this case that little tune that was given to us in the beautiful light operas of Gilbert and Sullivan kept recurring to me, "the flowers that bloom in the spring, trala have nothing to do with the case" and eighty per cent. of the evidence that came from the box has nothing to do with the case. From this mass of documents, from this collection of correspondence, pieces of speeches given by people whom we do not know, in places where we have never been, and of the circumstances of which we have no knowledge have been brought in here as evidence against us, and out of the mass of documents, out of the mass of correspondence my learned friends have gone with the microscope and the surgical knife and they have carved out terms, red, bolshevik, socialism, evolution, proletarian, bourgeoisie, etc.

The jury must have been bewildered at times as hour after hour, day after day, statements of many and varying forms of political and economic theory were read to them from the one thousand and ten exhibits put in by the Crown. But at last the trial came to an end, having exhausted every one connected with it—judges, lawyers, jury, witnesses and accused alike.

A. A. Heaps, now member of Parliament for North Winnipeg, was acquitted, as he enjoys explaining, probably because he pleaded his own case and did not trust himself in the hands of the lawyers. Another of the men was sentenced to two years, later reduced to one, the remaining six were given one year each.

Throughout this whole period there were many incidents which one would like to chronicle to ensure their being remembered to the last syllable of recorded time in Canada. The human experiences and dramatic moments connected with the trial were far more revealing and significant than its legal aspects. R. B. Russell's aged mother in Glasgow, when she heard that her son had been arrested, sent a cable of two words, "Have courage." When asked by the judge whether he had anything to say before sentence was passed upon him, he replied: "Your lordship, very little. I do not understand the law nor the procedure of the law. I feel that if the court had grasped the full conception of the Trades Union movement it would have realized that I only fulfilled my duty. I do not think I can say more."

One scene coming from this period will not be forgotten by Winnipeg workers—the funeral of the little son of Mr. Ivens. In spite of cold, damp weather, hundreds of children carrying wreaths of flowers came from the Sunday Schools of the Labour Church; and a body of returned men, although it was generally known that Mr. Ivens had been a pacifist during the war, headed the long procession,

extending a distance of six city blocks. Mr. Woodsworth conducted the service, nearly three thousand listening to the solemn rites on that cold, grey day. Mr. Ivens, who was serving his term in jail at the time, was allowed to attend the service, accompanied by a guard.

There were three articles in the strike bulletin for which Mr. Woodsworth was primarily responsible and on account of which he was charged with seditious libel. One was entitled, "Is there a way out?" a reasoned and conciliatory plea for some action which would appeal to both parties and break the deadlock. The article ended with the suggestion that a commission be appointed with extraordinary powers—"powers to suggest and to enforce radical and far reaching policies, powers, if found necessary, to keep the business of the country going." His closing sentence was "Let us reiterate there are very reasonable men in both camps."

The second count is the one which deservedly holds a unique place in the annals of Canadian humour. A Canadian citizen was accused of seditious libel for quoting from Isaiah as follows:

Wee unto them that decree unrighteous decrees, and that write grievousnesses which they have prescribed; to turn aside the needy from judgment, and to take away the right from the poor of my people, that widows may be their prey, and that they may rob the fatherless. Isaiah (10:1-2).

And they shall build houses, and inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards, and eat the fruit of them. They shall not build, and another inhabit;

they shall not plant, and another eat: for as the days of a tree are the days of my people, and mine elect shall long enjoy the work of their hands. Isaiah (65:21-22)

The remaining article, called "The British Way," touched on some of the chief points in the draft report on reconstruction of the British Labour Party, at that time the official opposition in the British House of Commons. It included a warning of Arthur Henderson's as to the possibility of an outbreak, then in a challenging and concise argument showed that Britain was moving steadily on to a new social order and away from "the individualist system of capitalist production not by revolution but by constitutional means." In his conclusion Mr Woodsworth said "Do our Canadian business men suppose that with revolutions going on all over Europe, and with this programme offered in England as a substitute for sudden and perhaps violent revolution, that we in Canada are going to be permitted to go with undisturbed step along the accustomed ways? No! We too must face the new situation. Whether the radical changes that are inevitable may be brought about peaceably largely depends on the good sense of the Canadian business men who now largely control both the industry and government of this country."

On account of his articles in the Strike Bulletin, Mr. Dixon was also charged with seditious libel. His case was called first; he was acquitted and the Crown then withdrew the charge against Mr. Woodsworth. Mr Dixon's address to the jury,

published later in pamphlet form under the heading, "An Argument for Liberty of Opinion" was thus described in the *Free Press*: "Many men of law expressed the opinion Saturday night that Dixon's final address to the jury was one of the most expressive as well as impressive speeches ever made in the court of law in Manitoba. He leaned slightly against the jury box and in slow, measured tones uttered his last appeal. "Gentlemen, yours is an important decision. Remember that you are to decide whether the right of free speech is to be yours and your children's and if it is to belong to me and my children."

In this connection it may be of interest to note that at the provincial election which took place a few months after the trial, Mr. Dixon was returned with the largest majority Winnipeg has ever seen. Three others, John Queen, William Ivens and George Armstrong, were elected while they were still in prison; and on their release walked over from the jail and took their places in the Parliament Buildings, where John Queen is now Leader of the Labour Party. The others of those arrested are all prominent in the public life of the Dominion.

This is, perhaps, a fitting moment to recall an occasion in the life of Winnipeg which occurred eleven years later—the passing of Fred Dixon. A common desire moved thousands of Winnipeg citizens to honour this friend of man. Differences of opinion regarding the strike had long since been forgotten. Inside and outside the Fort Rouge Labour Hall, there touched shoulders members of

Parliament, university professors, workmen in overalls, business men, clergymen, unemployed men, returned soldiers, and civic employees. Mr Woodsworth had come from Ottawa to conduct the service. In his brief address he said: "Mr. Dixon ordered his life on his faith in a better future for humanity. He was ready to risk himself in his confidence in the future. In my judgment, to him faith was as essential as was confidence in an ideal."

Thus time has a habit of reversing the immediate judgments of men and after the fever has passed, events take on their true value. *or become intelligible*
by I.F.K.

3. THE STRUGGLE TO GAIN A FOOTHOLD

The trial over, in the summer of 1920 Mr Woodsworth returned to Vancouver and moved his family there. His position now seemed utterly hopeless. He had been forced out of a government position on the conscription issue and denounced as unpatriotic. He had resigned from the Methodist ministry and was considered outside the pale of the Church. He had been forced into the ranks of labour and had lost his professional standing. He had been a leader in what was regarded as a revolutionary strike and was thought to be a Bolshevik. He had been in jail, charged with sedition. With all his education, professional training and experience he could not now have obtained a place even on the waterfront. Yet he had to live, begin once again, and help support his family.

Under a strain of worry and uncertainty, he took

up his work of teaching and lecturing in the interests of the Labour Party and of the Socialist Movement in general. At that time the Provincial Legislature had not a solitary Labour member in it. Mr. Woodsworth, convinced that Labour would never receive its rights until it could speak for itself in Parliament, ran in the next Provincial election as a candidate for the Federated Labour Party. Although he was unsuccessful he received splendid support from the labour people, who piled up a vote of seven thousand, which must have given him some encouragement in those difficult days. Evidently the workers were not unmindful of his efforts in their behalf.

The following summer he accepted an urgent invitation to return to Winnipeg as General Secretary of the "Labour Church," an educational movement which had reached considerable proportions since the strike. The Winnipeg Labour paper, in welcoming him, showed how well he was understood. "Although he comes primarily to act as General Secretary for the Labour Church, yet he is too big a man to be confined to any one section of the progressives, and every Labour activity in Winnipeg will feel his influence. . . . His best contribution will be as leader of group study classes."

It is suggestive to read the Prayer of the Labour Church, as drawn up by Mr. Woodsworth. This whole period of his life is so linked in the public mind with the passions and conflicts of the Winnipeg strike that it is helpful to consider the principles which guided his actions at that time.

A Prayer

We meet together as brothers and sisters of the one big family.

We confess that we have not yet learned to live together in love and unity. We have thought too much of our own interests and too little of the common welfare. We have enjoyed and even sought special privileges. Our own gain has often involved another's loss. We are heartily sorry for these our misdoings, the memory of them is grievous unto us.

We acknowledge that we are still divided into alien groups separated from one another by barriers of language, race and nationality, by barriers of class and creed and custom. May we overcome prejudice. May we seek to find common ground. May we recognise the beauty in other types than our own. As we claim that our own convictions should be respected, so may we respect the convictions of others. May we grow in moral stature until we can join hands over the separating walls. May we enter into the joy of a common fellowship.

We have learned how imperfect is our knowledge, how narrow our vision. May we be willing to welcome truth from whatever source it comes. May we endeavour to follow the truth at whatever cost.

We would remember that the things that are seen are temporal, that the things that are not seen are eternal. May we judge things by their spiritual values. May we estimate success by high standards and, in our own lives, reject the temptation of a low aim and easy attainment.

We would be wide in our sympathies and generous in our living. If we have more than others, may we accept our heavier responsibilities. We would extend to others that indulgence which we crave for ourselves.

We are grateful for the lives of all the wise and good who have made this world a better place in which to live. May we enter into their spirit and carry forward their work.

We pledge ourselves to united effort in establishing on the earth an era of justice and truth and love.

May our faces be toward the future. May we be children of the brighter and better day which even now is beginning to dawn. May we not unpede, but rather co-operate with, the great spiritual forces which, we believe, are impelling the world onward and upward.

In due time came December, 1921, and the Dominion elections. Mr Woodsworth received the unanimous nomination of the Independent Labour Party, for Winnipeg Centre, which he had to contest against the nominees of the two old, firmly-entrenched parties. From the beginning of his campaign he insisted that there should be neither flag-waving nor personal abuse. In striking contrast to such practices, he took as a general theme for his campaign speeches a review of the various functions of the Dominion government, and showed how they vitally affected the life of every Canadian citizen. His election addresses would have made an excellent course in Civics and were certainly unique in the Canadian political forum, as indeed they have continued to be ever since. On one occasion the *Calgary Alberta* wrote "After the hectic speeches in the political campaign so far in this city, the address of J. S. Woodsworth on Thursday night was like a breath of fresh air. There were some statements in his address with which the *Alberta* cannot

agree. He under-estimates the importance of the tariffs, for one thing. But his entire method of appeal and most of his conclusions must carry conviction."

From the response which Mr. Woodsworth and Mr. Russell, the other Labour candidate, received it was evident that Labour was beginning to feel its strength as a political force. The strike had united the workers and trained them to work together for a common cause, while the experiences of the strike leaders in jail were a continual spur to action. Although a leading Winnipeg paper tried to minimise the chances of the Labour men by claiming that they were not Labour's natural representatives, the workers had not forgotten the lessons of the strike. They had learned in a hard school who were and who were not their friends, and they rallied to the support of their chosen leaders.

Tremendous excitement swept Winnipeg on the day of the election. When the returns for Mr. Woodsworth kept mounting higher and higher and success was assured his friends and supporters set out in search of him. A group of them obtained a large dray, substituted themselves for the horses, and having located the victor drew him through the streets to the newspaper office, where a brief speech of thanks was the next order of the day.

Thus the first Labour member with any real influence upon the affairs of the country was elected to the Canadian House of Commons. Interesting questions arise. What kind of activity will the new representative of Labour, an independent private

member, attached to neither of the two traditional parties, now carry on in the Dominion-wide field of Federal politics? What policies will his previous experience and intimate knowledge of the weakness of our present social and economic system lead him to advocate? Time has already answered these questions.

IV

LIFE IN PARLIAMENT

LIFE IN PARLIAMENT

1. *REPLY TO THE SPEECH FROM THE THRONE, 1934*

Since his Winnipeg victory in 1921, Mr. Woodworth has triumphantly weathered three Federal elections. This has meant that the last twelve years of his life have been spent chiefly in Ottawa, during one of the most distressing and critical periods in the history of Canada. He is now one of the most experienced Parliamentarians in the House, but at the beginning of this period he found himself, with almost startling suddenness, in an entirely new environment. Impressions of a particular occasion, the opening of Parliament in January, 1934, may, perhaps, give an idea of that environment; and a summary of his address in reply to the Speech from the Throne may indicate the general point of view toward national and international affairs which he has upheld since he entered the House. And since this occasion is not yet removed very far from us in point of time, it may serve to give a sense of immediacy and reality to a longer account of his Parliamentary career.

Parliament Hill and the superb pile of Gothic buildings which crown it are beautiful at any time, but they were especially so on that clear, frosty afternoon of the opening of the House, in thirty degrees below zero weather, the snow glittering on

the terraces and the sky a blue of indescribable depth and richness—a flawless background for the pale grey Peace Tower. On such a day a citizen may be forgiven an unusual feeling of emotion, an undue amount of pride in the beauty of the seat of government of the Dominion. But it is cold! "Blow, blow, thou wintry wind," and it does! Battling against it, as it sweeps down the Ottawa River and over the hill, one approaches the austere shaft of the Tower, a little comforted at the sight of the Royal Canadian Mounted Policeman on duty in his huge fur cap and great buffalo robe of a coat, for he at least must be warm. Passing into the Entrance Hall, and observing its fine arches and pillars and delicate stonework, one gives way to one's patriotic feelings. What grace and dignity and beauty! What a great country it is after all!

The opening of the House, based on British tradition, was a brilliant affair—gold lace of "Windsor" uniforms, trains of evening gowns sweeping over the crimson carpet of the Senate Chamber, the first Gentleman of the Land with the first Lady, beautiful and beautifully robed, leading the procession to the throne while the assembly stood in silence. Immediately preceding their arrival the guns had fired a salute.

But at this point various and curious thoughts kept coming into one's mind, for instance: "If we were in some other countries, which at the moment do not seem to be solving their troubles very wisely, those guns might be engaged in more serious business, in which case the balls would drive through

these thick stone walls and quite rudely take our heads off and our troubles with them." Which led to another thought: "Canada still has a great chance to get to the root of her social and economic problems without the tragedy of guns." Yet in the midst of all this grandeur some hard and unattractive facts insisted on presenting themselves: the burdens of the depression placed unequally on the shoulders of Canadian citizens, many losing their homes struggled for during the years; children not going to school for lack of proper clothing in a land where the factories could clothe every child suitably; boys and young men facing a blank future in a young country where their energy is needed; older men of experience and skill forced out of work which they had enjoyed and to which they would never return; the increase in armaments instead of the progress of peace and good will. It was a grand opportunity for members of Parliament to tackle these problems.

Then came the Speech from the Throne, given by the Governor General in English and in French. Here there would certainly be some light and guidance in the stormy weather. The voice began and touched on the Ottawa Trade Agreements, the World Economic Conference, the Royal Commission on Banking, and closed with a brief statement regarding relief policies for the unemployed. The speech took for granted a gradual return to economic stability. "Canada occupies a leading position amongst those countries where the evidence of a return to permanent prosperity is most convince-

ing." One's feelings were somewhat confused, for there was no recognition of the fact that Europe was an armed camp, that the disarmament conference had failed, that the League of Nations, the only world machinery for peace and co-operation, seemed to be tottering. Those perfectly shaped sentences in the best English style seemed only remote from reality.

On the Monday following the formal opening of the House, with its attendant social functions, the House of Commons met for the transaction of the country's business. The galleries were crowded, the Government and Opposition sides with the wives and friends of the members, the diplomatic section with a fine array of foreign representatives, and the end galleries with the general public, making a striking and colourful spectacle. The leader of the Opposition rose to speak in reply to the Speech from the Throne. He would certainly have some suggestions for the man on the street, for he knew the struggles of the working class against poverty and unemployment—he had lived among them in a settlement. His brilliant work in the Industrial Disputes Act, and as author of "Industry and Humanity," was recognized and admired. But under our party system an opposition leader has to use opposition tactics and so there came no positive suggestion but a skilful and lengthy attack on the government policies as briefly outlined in the address. With a feeling of hopelessness one left the House, wandered through the long corridors and out again into the night air, the stars hanging

out of the heavens like lamps and the Peace Tower gleaming in its pale reflected light.

Next afternoon, at the appointed hour of three, with hope somewhat renewed, one returned to the battle of the parties, with a vague question in one's mind as to why the parties should give one the impression of a futile debating society, rather than of a group of citizens handling with intelligence the nation's affairs. The Prime Minister, in a thoughtful and business-like manner, also for over four hours, over an hour of which was given to titles, explained the acts of his government since the previous session. It was evident that Mr. Bennett had worked with devotion and tremendous energy. His argument was that satisfactory trade agreements had been made, that the amount of unemployment had decreased, and that generally speaking the economic situation showed decided improvement. In view of this seemingly satisfactory statement the old questions recurred. "Is there or is there not anything fundamentally wrong with the business system of the country? Does it serve both rich and poor?" A paraphrase of Goldsmith's lines came into one's head:

"To face the land, to hastening ill a prey,
Where credit is maintained and men decay."

On the whole, neither in the speech of the leader of the Government nor in that of the leader of the Opposition was there a hint of a far-sighted, constructive policy for a people in distress.

For the next few days private members had an opportunity of replying to the Speech from the

Throse. For this purpose each member was allowed forty minutes. The House became curiously empty after the two leading speeches were over, scattered groups here and there, not much attention to the flow of oratory, not much seriousness. Some members seemed to be writing letters home, some reading the newspapers, others talking pleasantly together, sometimes a joke passed around. One waited rather anxiously for the turn to come of a representative of the Farmer Labour group in the House, the chairman of the C C F. Forty minutes in comparison with four hours was not perhaps a fair proportion, but still whatever was said would be an indication of the spirit and aims of the man and of the group which he represented.

In due time Mr Woodsworth rose to speak, a slight, alert figure, grey hair turning to white, vandyke neat as always, looking perhaps a trifle worn and battered after the strenuous experiences of the years but still very much in the midst of affairs. In a voice that could easily be heard to the farthest corner of the House, he began to speak forcefully, logically and usually with calmness, but occasionally with scathing denunciation. He thinks that he has probably caught some bad habits from his parliamentary environment! He was much amused at a remark of one of the French members who, meeting him in the hall one day, said: "Mr. Woodsworth, when I meet you in the hall, you are such a nice man, such a kind man, but when you are in the House you shake your fist at me!"

His speech at once took one into a world of curi-

ously different values from that of titles and tariffs. In it one found the same values which he has tried to bring into Canadian public and social life since the beginning of his career. There were no generalities; there was no easy optimism, but a statesmanlike, courageous consideration of the situation which Canada faces to-day. This was unmistakably the same man whom we have already seen struggling with the problems of unemployment, housing, minimum wage in Winnipeg, the same man who stood for decent living conditions for the workers and for free speech during the Winnipeg strike. Here was the same student who carefully finds out his facts and then suggests possible methods, the same humanitarian who cannot help putting the needs of human beings first and urging legislation based on justice and fair play to the least of the country's citizens. Even as the St. Lawrence waterways has importance for him, so has the fact that a little girl eight years old at Cap aux Os, Gaspé county, Quebec, fainted in school because she had had no breakfast. The members of the House do not seem, even after twelve years, to know how to take Mr Woodsworth's stories of human struggle and suffering. Such stories make one uncomfortable but they give a more realistic picture of the life of one group of the Canadian people than do pages of statistics on unemployment.

In his reply he touched on the most critical questions of national policy, among them a code for Labour defining wages and hours of work—a question vital to the well-being of Canadian citizens.

The workers of the country, the men and women who perform every possible kind of service, the miners who burrow in the earth for coal, the lumbermen who cut down trees, the men responsible for giant machines, men on the land and men on the sea, girls and women in factories and stores—How many members of Parliament consider it any concern of theirs whether the country returns to these workers a fair wage for the services they render? Mr Woodsworth has never been known to forget them. He said:

There is another strike to which I should like to refer—that of the lumber workers in Northern Ontario and the Rouyn district in Quebec. Harsh and repressive measures were used, yet, according to the *Montreal Star* of January 4, the provincial government's own investigators all agree that the workers are being exploited by a number of contractors and sub-contractors, that their wages are inadequate and that the goods sold to the workers in the stores operated by contractors are exorbitantly priced, so that when the season is over the lumberjacks find themselves not any richer than before and sometimes poorer, for they are indebted to their employers for part of the goods purchased.

Mr. Woodsworth concluded, "Why not some sort of Labour code for Canada?"

At this point the willingness of the C.C.F. group in the House to co-operate in plans to improve conditions became evident. The Farmer and Labour members in the south-east corner are not obstructionists: they are not destructive but constructive critics. Mr. Woodsworth continued:

With regard to the furniture workers, they are

to no small extent the victims of the mass buying recently denounced by the Minister of Trade and Commerce. Just here I would like to suggest to the Minister that we in this corner shall be very glad to co-operate in any way possible in making the investigation into that matter a success. We can assure the Government of our support.

No other member of Parliament has more courageously or consistently attacked and exposed business practices which make the innocent in the business world suffer along with the guilty, and bring the whole business life of the country into disrepute! Mr. Woodsworth goes on to say

But I would like to ask this. Why not also investigate the dealings of our financial promoters and manipulators. . . who are placing burdens on this country under which the ordinary people can hardly struggle. Only a few months ago I came across a rather interesting account of the way in which many fortunes have been made in this country.

Then followed a story describing a business in which huge profits had been made for no fair return in service to the community.

Both the leader of the Government and the leader of the Opposition spent considerable time over the question of titles. Mr. Woodsworth does not believe that this is a matter which interests many Canadian citizens in a supposedly democratic country, and that in any case, in comparison with the critical problems with which members of Parliament are supposed to be dealing, such a question fades into insignificance; and certainly the workers of the country cannot see that it bears any relation

to their struggle for existence. But the older parties seem to feel differently, for when the motion for the continuance of titles came up it commanded the largest attendance and the biggest total vote of the session up to that time. Great Britain almost at this very moment was providing a contrast which challenges thought. Her government experts had just evolved a five year plan representing the most sweeping slum-clearance scheme ever undertaken in Britain, and the Socialist party in control of the London County Council had set about carrying out their plans for demolishing the slums, blasting many of them out of existence and replacing them with fine flats and gardens.

As in the case of the discussion of titles, Mr. Woodsworth has so many times in the House witnessed the same kind of failure to put the emphasis on the things which matter that it is little wonder he falls into sarcasm on this subject.

Two more people can boast of titles because of Mr. Bennett having been Prime Minister. But hundreds of people have lost the titles which they had to their property. Most people are more interested in having a title to their little home than in having a title which may be recognized in the Old Country.

In his reply there were several references to the international situation. He said

Undoubtedly we have witnessed a decline in the influence of the League of Nations; we have been witnessing the practical abandonment of the disarmament conference, and yet I take it that all thoughtful students of international affairs admit that permanent recovery is possible only as we have

peace. . . . We have witnessed still farther in Europe the decline of many of the older democratic or so-called democratic systems. There we have seen arise Bolshevism, Fascism and Hitlerism. Even in England there have been very radical changes, though not so much in outward form. In the United States we have had what almost might be termed a revolution as manifested in the very great changes which the President has introduced. In view of all these changes that are going on throughout the world, I have been wondering whether there is no hope of our having a new deal for Canada. Apparently. . . . this government is pretty much content to go along the old beaten trail.

What is the truth behind the private manufacture of armaments? Were or were not these manufacturers largely responsible for the continuance of the last war? How much profit has gone into their pockets? These questions are difficult to answer, but surely they should be looked into, so that Canada may not again be involved in the tragedy and futility of war.

Mr. Woodsworth, feeling that this is one of the most critical and far-reaching questions of the day in relation to the continuance of civilization, had this to say.

We in Canada very easily protest against the private manufacture of armaments, but in this country we have almost a monopoly of nickel; and nickel it seems, under present processes, is essential to the manufacture of armaments. Well, then, if we are really serious in our wish for peace, why should we permit the unregulated export of nickel destined to build up armaments in Europe? I would urge

that the government seriously consider taking over control of the export of nickel, or better still that they make nickel mining a government monopoly. It seems to me that if we have any difficulty at all in tracing the ultimate destination of nickel, we might readily call in the good offices of the League of Nations and at least block this one avenue to the manufacture of armaments.

One of Canada's most famous padres in the last war, Archdeacon Scott, thus comments:

I greatly deplore the attitude of the government party in opposing so frivolously Mr. Woodsworth's motion in connection with the sale of nickel. . . . The rise in the price of nickel is due to the rise of war fever in Europe. . . . Canada has now a glorious chance to show the world that she puts the lives of men above the love of gold.

Mr. Woodsworth keeps his eyes fixed definitely on the future. He sees that the old party slogans, free trade and tariffs, no longer apply to the economic problems of this age but that some form of centralized national planning is inevitable. In his speech he discussed this question, quoting from Mr. Vincent Massey's address at the Liberal Summer School held at Lake Couchiching during the summer of 1933:

It is a very difficult world to live in: we are witnessing the very transition between old *laissez-faire* improvising ways of doing things and a tightly planned modern state system. We have to plan our own recovery in this easy going country of ours, our own reconstruction, our own relationship to this new world. . . . The primary conflict is not there-

fore isolation versus internationalism, but planning versus improvisation, and in this trouble planning will, I believe, be victorious. . . It must suffice for me to say that national planning will have to be the foundation of Canada's international relations. Old conceptions of government must give place to new.

Mr. Woodsworth concluded: "Needless to say, I heartily agree, but I ask 'Does the leader of the Opposition agree? That is the question'." He had intended to continue this subject but the Speaker arose and in the voice of inexorable fate said: "The honourable member has spoken for forty minutes." His policy, however, in regard to national planning may be found in the first section of the C C F programme:

The establishment of a planned, socialized economic order, in order to make possible the most efficient development of the national resources and the most equitable distribution of the national income.

Most of the members of the House followed Mr. Woodsworth with interest. Some few continued to write letters or read newspapers; perhaps they were used to speeches such as this from this section of the House. But to the quite unofficial observer in the gallery, it seemed as though suddenly, before one had time to say good bye decently to the past, one were transported to a new age. "Humanity first," "a Labour code for Canada," "co-operation," "national planning." Where were the old familiar terms—"my country first," "rugged in-

dividualism," "competition"! The old political game was up. Those who could not see it were figures from a past age existing in but not partaking of the new. What one called the new age did not seem to matter, whether one called it the Kingdom of God or the Era of Co-operation. One thing was certain—a heaven was at work and one could see evidences of it in the Canadian House of Commons—in the work of Mr. Woodsworth and the co-operating Independents and in a great many unexpected places. A quotation from an unremembered source came to mind. "Coliseums are crumbling, but below the surface of publicity are the catacombs where unknown workmen are building a new age."

Almost with apprehension, one realized how important Ottawa was. Clergymen may preach the brotherhood of man till doom cracks above our heads and under our feet, professors may lecture in academic halls on internationalism, individual business men may think that co-operation in place of competition is a good thing, but Ottawa finally decides whether churches shall be united, whether Canadian youth shall fight overseas, whether our old men and old women shall have a measure of security at their journey's end; and Ottawa decides whether the profits of industry shall continue to go into the hands of the few, not making them any wiser or happier, or whether our economic system shall be reshaped as a means of happiness and development for all.

Ottawa, then, is of supreme national importance—meaning by Ottawa the men whom we send to represent us in the House of Commons.

2. ROOM 616, HOUSE OF COMMONS

One moves upward smoothly and rapidly in a modern elevator painted lacquer red. "Turn right, and down the first corridor." "Thanks very much." Past a door through which come quite unparliamentary sounds—members' voices raised in a French-Canadian song, (one heard the skirl of the bagpipes resounding through the corridor a few days later); down the long hall to Room 616. Mr. Woodsworth is busy dictating letters—a sheaf of them. In no hurry, and while waiting, one enjoys a quiet observation of the room. It will after all probably be much the same as Room 10 in the Industrial Bureau or the office of the Bureau of Social Research—and it is, but with striking and revealing additions.

This pleasant, bright office evidently belongs to a man of studious and quiet tastes but sensitively and intellectually alive to the issues of the day. There is a long bookcase with books and pamphlets methodically and neatly arranged. Arrayed on the top shelf is an astonishing quantity of Parliamentary oratory, as witness the stout volumes of Hansard. Next to Hansard come the Revised Statutes of Canada and the Canada Year Books for some years past. In the middle row books on social and economic questions invite an inspection which cannot be resisted.

Beyond the bookcase stands a table covered with pamphlets, some on the C.C.F., others on nearly every conceivable question of the day. In the middle of the table is a carved reading desk from

Oxford days, and underneath a pile of the well-worn Woodsworth charts. On shelves above, giving the room a warm, personal touch, are several photographs, among which one recognizes fine likenesses of Mr Woodsworth's father and mother, of Mrs. Woodsworth, and of Mrs. MacInnis in academic hood and gown. A small marble figure of Savonarola reposes here—a treasured trophy from the visit to Italy. On the wall near by is a picture of a group of sculptured figures—a working man, a miner, perhaps, stripped to the waist, standing behind his wife and child, the expression of the whole, tragic, without hope; it is called "The Striker." Under this, two articles, distinctly odd in the office of a Member of Parliament, rivet the attention—one a large sharp-pointed hook with wooden handle, used by Mr Woodsworth while longshoring on the Vancouver docks, the other a heavy wooden baton, a policeman's weapon from the Winnipeg strike.

One's eyes wander past a large filing cabinet with a primrose plant on top of it and come to rest at a portrait gallery of well-known people, the link connecting them with each other and with the man dictating steadily at his desk being obviously their interest in the cause of the people—Kear Hardie, E. D. Morel, Eugene Debs, Dixon of Winnipeg, Garland, Agnes McPhail.

Then come, in succession, a large wall map of the world, a framed poem of Wilson Macdonald's—"He kept high faith with beauty to the end," and a framed copy of "The House by the Side of the Road," which Mr Woodsworth has kept with him



Mr. Woodworth in His Office, A THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, 1934

ever since All Peoples' days. There the words, "Let me live in a house by the side of the road and be a friend to man" might have been more literally true, but not truer in reality than in Room 616 in the House of Commons.

Another corner of the room is reserved for cartoons. A Racey, of the *Montreal Standard*, has an amusing one of Mr. Woodsworth done at the time of the reorganization of the C C F. in Ontario. Mr. Woodsworth in nurse's uniform is sitting in a rocking-chair, and attempting to hold on his lap two unruly children, named U.F.O. and Pink Labour, who are struggling to shove each other off. A marvellously good one of Arch Dale's, of the *Winnipeg Free Press*, is entitled, "Upon what meat doth this our Caesar feed that he is grown so great?" Mr. Bennett in Roman toga and laurel wreath strides along carrying a scroll labelled "Blank Cheque." Mr. Woodsworth and Mr. Lapointe, Cassius and Brutus respectively, are standing together, while Cassius, gazing in a lean fashion after Caesar, utters the famous words. Another, called "The Diplodocus, a Hint to Capitalism," gives a picture of an ancient monster that perished for lack of brains; still another "What Makes the Wild West Wild?" shows Mr. Bennett as a successful Eastern business man in top hat and cut-away, against a background of smoking factories and machines, giving the following advice to a Western farmer: "Keep from speculation and wild dreams of sudden wealth and you will be happy and contented."

All at once one recalls the famous colour red and looks around for tracks of the Russian bear, for signs of the dangerous communist, but one looks in vain; it all seems solidly Canadian. The only touch of red is in a valentine which shows a black-haired and bewhiskered Bolshevnik in high boots striding past waving a red flag, behind him the round pointed towers of a Russian church. This work of art bears the label: "I mosco get you for my valentine." No efforts, however tactful, to find out the name of the sender proved successful.

During this and many other visits to the office one was impressed with the fact that Mr. Woodsworth is carrying on his parliamentary work very much as he conducted the Bureau of Social Research. His aims and methods are the same, although his work is, perhaps, of greater national significance in that he now brings his knowledge and experience to bear at the centre of the legislative life of the country.

One has occasionally wondered what the two hundred and forty five members of the House of Commons do with their time in Ottawa. A visit to his office soon reveals what Mr. Woodsworth does with his. Like the Bureau, his room is a rendezvous for people of different shades of political, educational and religious opinion. There passes through his door, not only the Labour group which he represents, but a steady procession of men and women, high and low, rich and poor, some coming in for books and pamphlets, others to pass on certain facts and situations in their own communities, occasion-

ally someone in despair at some personal misfortune. Perhaps it is odd in a politician's office that no one comes in asking for the plums of political patronage. But the explanation is simple. Mr. Woodsworth made it clear to his constituents in the beginning that he had none to give.

A considerable knowledge of the Canadian scene may be gleaned from the discussions in this office, with a frequent glimpse into the international forum. A prominent French member arrives, charmingly polite, the air is soon wreathed with smoke and filled with the aroma of his excellent tobacco. The talk touches on the serious plight of the unemployed, the weak spots in the present system, the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec on this and many other occasions, her probable attitude to the C.C.F. platform. He departs with C.C.F. pamphlets and other literature tucked under his arm.

Now comes in a teacher, a Rhodes scholar, interested primarily in educational work. He vehemently expresses his opinion that a study of present social and economic problems should be introduced into the schools of the country; that the public school course of study is a fifty per cent. waste of time, the percentage for the University curriculum is still higher; again, that at tremendous financial cost during the past forty years the schools have succeeded only in raising a generation of confused and disillusioned adults. The discussion takes an interesting turn as to how Canadian youth might be educated so as to grow up wiser citizens. Cer-

tain practical suggestions emerge such as that they should be given early an opportunity for co-operation in community affairs, and a knowledge of the disaster which results to the community from unrestrained competition for personal profit. It was agreed that a knowledge of the Canadian Banking system, mass production and immigration laws is more important at the moment than a study of Lord Durham's report or the Constitutional Act or even the Clergy Reserves.

On one occasion a visitor was surprised, but soon joined in the discussion, to see Mr. Woodsworth and a young Finn from a Northern Ontario town sitting on the floor and carrying on a most friendly conversation. They were inspecting a large chart of Canada which showed the natural geographic divisions of the country as running north and south and brought out the obvious connection between Canadian industries and those of the country to the south. Then followed discussion on the labour situation in the north and detailed suggestions as to how a C.C.F. club could be formed and what it could do towards educating its members on Canadian problems.

And the procession continues! At regular intervals, newspaper men, out for news of politics, personalities, everything being grist for their mill, blow breezily in and out again. A young professor with a foreign accent and tragic manner explains that he is working on the problem of immigration of certain national groups in Canada, and pictures his difficulties in finding accurate information. Mr.

Woodsworth's social work experience is put to good use as he quickly indicates where useful source material may be found. A committee from the Ottawa Forum arrives to ask Mr. Woodsworth to speak on the C.C.F. at their next Sunday night meeting. The telephone rings; a clergyman asks for suggestions for a series of sermons on national questions. The weekly letter which goes out to Farm and Labour papers across the country reporting the happenings in the House is discussed with Mrs. MacInnis. In conversation with a Labour M.P. who spent the summer and fall in England and on the Continent, the present situation of the Labour Movement in various countries is thrashed out. A social worker harassed by the individual tragedies in many of her families describes some actual situations. An old-countryman, unemployed, drops in to discuss the Douglas plan, displaying a knowledge of national problems typical, perhaps, of many British working men but unusual in Canada.

Mr. Woodsworth's correspondence list is no less varied. Letters from Room 616 speed in every direction across Canada and to many parts of the world, and as many speed to it. Frequently he is cheered by letters of encouragement. A school inspector from the Maritimes writes: "The other day in conversation with two of the finest and most prominent men of our province, I was glad to find them appreciative of what you have done and are trying to do in Parliament." A minister from an Ontario town: "I think you will be glad to feel that the common people of at least the east end of our

town feel that you are doing your best to give constructive leadership to help them in their distresses." A British Columbia university student: "We have organized a men's club here which, as you will appreciate, is composed of some mighty good material, and we are having some worth while discussions on the rottenness of the present political system. If you are out here again in the near future please get in touch with me and I will do my best to arrange for a meeting of the Club in order that you might meet these chaps."

A university graduate working in a Quebec mine asks for information about the workings of the financial system. This letter shows clearly how knowledge is spreading through the country, even though Mr. Woodsworth and the C.C.F. group have little space given to them in the press.

Coming in contact with everyone here, from the highest officials to the lowest-paid labourers in the mine, I have a good opportunity to discuss current topics with all. No opportunity is missed, but I often feel a need for more statistical knowledge than is at present at my command. As I believe the root of the evil is in the financial system it is facts regarding figures I want. I should be very pleased if you would tell me how I can best obtain information about the Banking System, the control exerted over it by the government . . . National debts, interest paid thereon, National income, in fact any information regarding the financial structure and its use.

A lady from British Columbia expressed her point of view in an amusing manner but obviously feels the present situation keenly.

In this small corner there is a growing feeling that the two old parties offer no help out of the muddle into which affairs have been precipitated. Naturally interest centres in your party. By the way, I greatly dislike its name. If you were the Common Sense party of Canada now, what an appeal to those who are disgusted with the old parties' lack of that priceless commodity! . . . Last evening a small group met in this house. . . . It was one of those evenings when practical minds strike sparks with scientific imagination. . . . But what are you going to do about it? And when? And how? The result—this letter. I want the platform printed, if possible, to distribute.

It tickled the fancy of the C.C.F. Chairman to read accounts in the newspapers of the campaign funds which the C.C.F. was receiving from Moscow. A letter from an Ontario town is perhaps the best explanation of the growth of the movement and of how it is spreading with little money but with conviction.

Since writing last, I was elected to the Municipal Council by a majority of eighteen votes, not a very large majority, but when one considers that I have resided here for only five years and am still a tenant, when my election expenses were only \$2.50 and had a very strong Conservative machine to battle against, no cars of my own, no literature with the exception of three hundred letters my wife and I wrote (my two boys delivered them), I am sure you will realize that all elections are not won by those with the most money.

Mr. Woodsworth's contacts have been so extensive that inside information on a wide range of

subjects continually comes into his office. Some personal touch with him, frequently very slight, some feeling of confidence in his integrity, bring letters, particularly with regard to labour troubles, from all over the country. The high executive is usually remote in his office from the clerk who sorts the firm's mail, from the machinist in his factory, from the electrician who fixes his lights, from the charwoman who cleans his floors. But Mr. Woodsworth keeps in close touch with the workers and his files reveal conditions of which many "heads" are ignorant. Here is an extract from a letter from the Pacific province:

I am sure you will be willing to do all you can to help the fishermen of British Columbia in their efforts to operate a co-operative cannery. I need not tell you how the Interests have been cutting down prices year after year until many of the fishermen now work the whole season and come away owing the Canneries for supplies. . . . You know the profits the Canneries are making, yet year by year they are cutting the price to the fishermen.

The whole letter from the executive of the United Steel Workers' Union from Sidney, Nova Scotia, is illuminating, but one must content oneself with the following:

Under normal conditions we should naturally welcome a resumption of activities at the plant, but what is of more vital concern to us than a rail order for the Steel Company is an assurance that we are paid, not the starvation rate of wages we were paid during the last order, but a rate at least sufficiently

high to feed and clothe our families. . . . We wish to point out with the utmost emphasis that the condition of the steel workers of Sidney constitute a glaring example of the functioning of the present capitalistic system. We are unemployed and the wheels of industry are idle. We are naked and the warehouses are bursting with clothing. We are hungry and the granaries are overflowing with wheat. We are thirsty and the city authorities shut off the water. Our children are suffering and we cannot get medical treatment. Our children are undernourished and cannot get milk, because of the actual condition of starvation that exists in this city.

We believe that we are in a period of transition from a brutal economic system of production for profits to a sane economic system of production for use. As workers we believe that the change should take place immediately, but as government authorities claim that their system can still function, we state that on their shoulders rests the responsibility of adequately feeding and clothing the workers.

Mr Woodsworth, like all thinking people, knows the arguments to excuse situations such as the steel workers describe. Among them are: The Canadian situation is a part of the world condition; the workers in Canada are more fortunate than in many other countries; the government has been working and must continue to work along sound business lines. And in the meantime the thermometer registering the physical and moral life of the workers steadily drops. Sometimes when a step is actually taken to handle their difficulties, it is a last resort, the motive perhaps the fear of revolution, not an overwhelming conviction that it is right and pos-

sible for every citizen to have an opportunity for a decent life. Mr. Woodsworth answers the letter from Sidney with a sad heart.

A Winnipeg business man, a broker, finds his mind forced to move along new channels of thought and writes to Mr. Woodsworth:

I have read your speeches very carefully and I have been struck by what I might call their balance. I confess I rather expected a more radical tone. They should be widely read, for whether one agrees or disagrees with your views they challenge one to think. . . . Thinking men of all complexions admit that the body politic to-day is sick. People like myself are perhaps rather hard to move. We were brought up and found a place in what we thought a rather stable world. The two old parties suited us, but I fear they are now facing more than they can readily solve. I have taken the liberty of having had copies drafted of the pamphlet on "Money" which I am returning to you. It seems to me to contain much valuable information from a business man's standpoint.

A young Canadian, doing post-graduate work in Oxford, writes from that ancient centre of British learning:

The press here, to the extent that it is interested in Canadian news at all, has given a very significant place to the development of the C.C.F. The *Times* admitted the importance of the party from the very beginning and has lately been talking about a coalition of the two old parties to combat the threat of the new one. If they do coalesce—so much the better, I should think; they are really only different shades of the same sombre colour. What

people refuse to realize is that it is a movement of the nature of the Federation which protects them from the violence of the extremists on either side. You have an exceedingly difficult task—unhappily the reactionary people are even more willing than the revolutionary ones to abandon constitutional methods.

As an example of the educational work which Mr. Woodsworth carries on through his replies to this ceaseless flow of correspondence and of the ideal of public service which he continually puts forward, perhaps his reply to this Oxford student will suffice:

I was very glad to hear from you again and shall be delighted to have a talk with you on your return to Canada. In connection with our CCF there has been some excellent work done by the League for Social Reconstruction. During the last few days there has been a remarkable gathering of a committee of this group who are engaged in the preparation of a book which will outline our policies. About twenty keen men are engaged in this work. It seems to me significant of an altogether new trend in Canadian political life—the first organized effort of Rhodes scholars and others with specialized training to make a constructive contribution to the public policies of Canada.

From a League of Nations secretary in Geneva in November, 1933, came a letter which must have made Mr. Woodsworth wonder what government members meant by their frequent references to the improvement in world conditions.

We are living in the midst of profound disquiet. The German elections early next week are an alarm-

ing prospect. The Japanese delegation has already withdrawn from the disarmament conference. Every one is now wondering what Germany will do if the other powers feel that in the absence of Japan no useful disarmament convention can be drawn up.

One of the most moving letters came from Saskatchewan—written with meticulous care and in beautiful script which needs to be seen to give the letter its old savour: "Please allow me, an old Conservative of fifty years standing, to congratulate you on your success in the Farmer Labour C.C.F. I have been speaking lately with many Conservatives of long standing, also a few Liberals of fifty years' standing whom I thought no one could alter in their opinions on politics, and I find they are, like myself, firmly decided to vote and help the Farmer-Labour party. Wishing you every success in your great undertaking. I thought you would like to know how the cause stood with those you may have thought to be your opponents."

3. TWELVE YEARS IN THE HOUSE

Mr. Woodsworth entered the House of Commons in March, 1922. This event was scarcely noticed by the Canadian press, but time has already shown that it has had an important influence upon the direction of Canadian affairs. The Ottawa Citizen may perhaps have had some premonition of its significance, for it said:

He comes to Ottawa as the member for Centre Winnipeg and the next House will hear some healthy criticism of the Immigration Act. . . . His

contributions to the debates in the next House are likely to prove worth bearing.

His first serious problem was to find an office in the Parliament Buildings! There were at that time three recognized parties in the House, Conservatives, Liberals and Progressives, whose respective whips were responsible for assigning the rooms, but since Mr. Woodsworth did not belong to any of these groups he found himself in the awkward position of being an exception to the general rule. Finally he went to the Sergeant at arms and protested that he "did not come here to represent any of the old parties," and that official persuaded the Progressive whip to yield one of his rooms to the new representative of Labour.

Impressions came rapidly; perhaps the first one was "Hour after hour, day after day, the speeches go on interminably. . . . speeches and speeches. . . political speeches, economic speeches, and time-killing or Hanaard-filling speeches" -to many of which few in the House seemed to pay any attention. There was an overwhelming number of lawyers, "who reinforced the tendency of the House to look at matters from a legal rather than a scientific or practical point of view." Questions seemed to him to be handled rarely on their merits but usually as pawns in the political game, while many matters of critical importance to the country were not considered at all. He wrote:

It is only of recent years that Members of Parliament have taken any practical interest in the question of the control of financial credit. It is the most vital factor in the whole economic structure of

this country, but only a few members make any reference to it.

Again, there seemed little opportunity for a private member to be of much use.

It has been interesting to me in conversation with some of the Farmer members to note how their enthusiasm is dampened by the actual realities of Parliament. It is much more difficult to be able to accomplish things here than in the freedom of outside life. It strikes one that this is a well-oiled machine, that one is expected to follow the accustomed grooves, to play the game according to the rules, and that these rules permit of very little individual initiative.

The press struck him in a new and somewhat sinister light. "The man who takes the report of a speech is no mere scribe. He has power to give only certain parts of the speech which he chooses and sends broadcast throughout the land. He has power to interpret the speech and the speaker to the people. He has the power to entirely misrepresent what is said."

Yet of the fact that human nature is essentially sound, including the human nature of the much maligned members of Parliament, Mr. Woodsworth had many proofs, amusing and otherwise. "A few days ago, in connection with the Supply Bill, the Black Rod had occasion to visit our chamber. . . . As he retired with the most profound bow, the ludicrousness of the situation became too much for the members, who broke out into hearty applause at his antics. One of the bad boys sitting near me enter-

tained himself with the proposal that it would add immensely to the hilarity of the occasion if we could arrange to have him trip over a wire as he made his last retiring bow. The spontaneous laughter from the House rather gives one confidence that the democracy of the country is fairly sound." Again, "The other day when the members were being called in for a division, and just after the Premier had made a very laboured defence of his position, the Conservative members took up the songs, 'Pack up your troubles in your old kit bag' and 'When it's Springtime in the Rockies.'"

Mr. Woodsworth discovered very early that if he were to exert any influence in Parliament toward his desired ends he would have to learn an entirely new technique—the use of Parliamentary tools. How well he has learned is evidenced by the fact that he is now acknowledged as one of the best Parliamentarians in the House, with few if any superiors. In connection with the budget debate of 1924, a newspaper report stated that "Mr. Woodsworth brought his party of two to the fore with a rush when he calmly caught the Conservative Opposition asleep and stole away their opportunity to bring in an amendment by producing one of his own." Likewise the *New Goblin* had this to say on one occasion "His friends are not always sure whether he is a fool or very wise. Mr. King thought he was a fool and is sorry now that he is not. So is Mr. Bennett."

Parliamentary rules Mr. Woodsworth learned by the trial and error method. The first resolution he

sent to the House was - "That in the opinion of this House, in view of the widespread unemployment with which the municipalities and provinces find themselves unable to cope, it is desirable that the government should proceed at once with a scheme of unemployment insurance." "To the ordinary man this would seem to be a reasonable way of bringing an important public question before the members of the House. The Clerk's assistant, however, sent me the following polite note. 'This motion involves the expenditure of money, and therefore cannot be made by a private member.' Now I have been racking my brain to know what kind of a motion I will be permitted to bring in. . . . It will be seen that if I am not learning what I can do, I am learning what I cannot do."

He continued to make interesting discoveries. Twice only during the session can private members speak on any other than a specified subject, once following the Speech from the Throne, and secondly following the address on the Budget. Few members in the House have used these opportunities to better advantage than has Mr. Woodsworth. Again, Government bills have right of way and, as the session progresses the Government takes more and more time and private members find it difficult to introduce any measure, no matter how important it may be. At the end their bills are simply dropped, a condition of affairs which in Parliamentary parlance is called "the slaughter of the innocents."

Again, the real business of Parliament is largely transacted outside the House, in the caucus, cotra-

mittee rooms or in the lobbies. It is here that details are worked out and policies determined.

It is already apparent to me that if one wishes to gain results more may sometimes be accomplished by interviews with departments or with individuals than by bringing matters up in the House by way of questions or resolutions. This fact, of course, opens the way to all sorts of lobbying. Notwithstanding the danger of this evil, one must recognize that mutual understanding and the ability to co-operate are after all essential in carrying forward a good part of the world's work. The essential thing, of course, is that the welfare of the people must not be subordinated to considerations of party advantage. It is right here that we, as a small independent group, may be freed from the temptations that beset the path of the older parties.

During the same year in which Mr. Woodsworth entered the House there arrived from Alberta one other representative of Labour, Mr. Wilham Irvine, representing Calgary East. In his initial speech Mr. Irvine pointed out that there were now four groups in the House, the Conservatives, the Liberals, the Progressives and Labour, and then added, much to the amusement of the members "Mr. J. S. Woodsworth is the leader of the Labour group—and I am the group."

It is impossible to realize the full import of the fact that until this event the Canadian working classes had practically no representatives distinctly their own in the House of Commons. Previously one or two Labour men had been in the House but had been eventually absorbed by the older parties.

The voice of those who constituted the largest section of the population and without whom the wheels of industry could not turn, was not heard in the councils of the country, nor was any member giving thought or study to their particular problems and interests. Mr. Woodsworth once expressed this situation thus:

The Prime Minister said that many people were coming to the government asking for this, that and the other thing. I would point out to him that the people who have done the most of that are the Canadian manufacturers. When they found that they could not conduct their business in a profitable manner they came immediately to the government and asked to be helped out to the extent of twenty, thirty, forty or fifty per cent. . . . I do not need to go into the help given to the transportation companies. Almost every one can come and expect some help from the government except the labouring people, and more recently the farmer who has been driven to take that position.

Nova Scotia, on one occasion, presented an illuminating illustration of this condition of affairs. In 1922 the province sent a solid Liberal bloc to Ottawa to represent, one would have supposed, the interests of all the people, not excluding the miners, who with their wives and children numbered about sixty thousand. The mining towns sent a delegation of mayors to Ottawa in the hope that the serious plight of the miners might receive some attention on the floor of the House. Instead, however, of receiving any welcome from their own representatives, they had to appeal to the Labour men

from Western Canada, half way across the continent. The Labour members presented the miners' case and the whole situation received thorough and sympathetic treatment by members of the other three parties. The leader of the Progressives made the concrete suggestion that the Conciliation Board should be reconvened. This was endorsed by the Minister of Finance and accepted by the Prime Minister, Mr. King. This is only one of the unnumberable instances during the past twelve years in which the Labour representatives have succeeded in placing labour's needs before the members of the House.

Such experiences confirmed a conviction of Mr. Woodsworth's of long standing, namely that with regard to their sincere interest in the workers, in fact in the general welfare of the country, there was little if any difference between the two old parties, because they both represented not the interests of all the groups in the country but primarily those of the business classes. Considerations such as these, and his knowledge of the difficulties of the working classes gained in his previous experiences, led him to support the cause of the workers on every possible occasion. He soon became recognized as the champion of labour in the House.

In addition to his unflagging efforts within the House he has carried on a tremendous amount of field work outside of it. Since 1922, in the course of each year, he has given anything from sixty-five to two hundred addresses. His previous personal associations in the church, in social work, in educa-

tional circles keep him in touch with these groups while his work in the Labour movement brings him into daily contact with the workers. Consequently invitations to speak come to him from a bewildering variety of organizations—Farmer and Labour groups, Clubs, such as the Canadian, Kiwanis and Rotary, Masonic Lodges, Teachers' conventions, Churches, and now C.C.F. clubs and conventions. He has always the one purpose—not to inflame passions but to give information to the public as to the fundamentals of our social and economic system. The number and variety of subjects he has covered, presented always with detailed and accurate information, is incredible. He once rather amusingly described these activities as follows

I feel inclined to apologize to the professional politicians for denouncing them so strongly in the past. I believe now that I am really the only professional politician, since the lawyers go back to their law offices, the farmers to their farms, but I have no other job but that of carrying on an educational campaign for Labour from one end of Canada to the other.

He has also felt it his duty to keep his constituents and other groups informed of what is happening in Ottawa. Every week articles go out from his office to labour and farm groups across the country—not doctrinaire studies of current events, but personal impressions—sometimes intimate pictures of parliamentary life, sometimes a careful analysis of how the Parliamentary machine works or of the administration of a particular department,

sometimes a consideration of the international situation. But whatever his subject, his treatment is always humane, clear-cut in its social implications, and a challenge to thought.

That the workers have come to understand and appreciate his efforts is shown in many ways. After two years of unremitting work, the *Canadian Railroad Employees' Monthly* had this to say

The workers of Winnipeg sent him to Ottawa in 1921. Since then his record is apparent to all. He has remained on the job in session and out of session. He has not contented himself with delivering a few fiery addresses on the wrongs of the "peepul"

In between sessions of Parliament he has travelled from coast to coast without fee and without personal ambition, putting himself at the disposal of the working class to further their emancipation.

And again, two years later, the same journal gave a summary of Mr. Woodsworth's and Mr. Irvine's work in the House and commented thus

This brief and incomplete survey of Labour's efforts in Parliament in relation to Labour's platform reveals the faithful manner in which the Labour members have discharged their duties and sets out the tremendous amount of work which they have done. Considering that they constitute a small group of two members in a House of two hundred and forty-five, their contribution to the general welfare of the nation, particularly of the workers, is deserving of the strongest commendation.

From the beginning Mr. Woodsworth has sought

to show that the coming of Labour into the House meant more than the emergence of a third political party. It represented a new set of ideas and ideals in Canadian life, which for the first time were finding expression in Parliament, the legislative centre of the country. Labour had a new doctrine to proclaim. "So far as labour is concerned socialism is the economic doctrine of the Labour movement."

Since the word socialism is so loosely used, Mr Woodsworth has taken infinite pains, in and out of the House, to explain what labour in Canada means by the term. In 1924, referring in the House to the triumph of the Labour party in Great Britain, he quoted from one of its manifestoes

The Labour party challenges the tariff policy and the whole conception of economic relations underlying it. Tariffs are not a remedy for unemployment, they are an impediment to the free interchange of goods and services upon which civilized society rests. They foster a spirit of profiteering, materialism and selfishness, poison the life of the nation, lead to corruption in politics, promote trusts and monopolies and perpetuate inequality in the distribution of the world's wealth won by the labour of hands and brain. . . . The Labour party is working for the creation of a commonwealth of co-operative service. It believes that so far only a beginning has been made in the scientific organisation of industry. . . . Labour's vision of an ordered world embraces the nations now torn with enmity and strife.

D

"I think," concluded Mr. Woodsworth, "that members of this House will be in a better position

to judge of the arguments and policies which we attempt from time to time to put forward in this corner of the House if they understand that we have been working very much along the lines proposed by the Labour party of Great Britain."

June of 1923 marked an important forward step for Labour. It was recognized in the House of Commons as a distinct party, and the story of the recognition is a good one. Mr. Woodsworth had asked a second question on "the orders of the day," a privilege ordinarily reserved for party leaders. For a moment the Speaker, the Honourable Rodolphe Lemieux, was adamant, pointing out that private members were allowed only one question. Mr. Woodsworth said "There are two of us here who are not able to speak through any of the leaders It seems to me in keeping with the best practice in the British House that a member can ask more than one question." Mr. Lemieux, who was always quick to uphold the dignity of the Chamber, thought a moment and then in his usual gracious manner replied: "The honourable gentleman has just called to my attention the fact that there is a fourth party in the House and on that consideration I will allow the question."

The following year, 1924, Labour, advancing still farther, due, in part at least, to Mr. Woodsworth's feeling for and ability to achieve co-operation, succeeded in forming a working alliance with sixteen Progressives who were out of sympathy with their main body. A meeting was held, much in common discovered and a general line of policy and action

decided upon. Since that time these "co-operating Independents" have worked and voted frequently together, although each has maintained his independent sphere of activity. Never voting for either political party as such but supporting measures which they felt would advance the principles in which they believed, they have to their credit a splendid record of concrete achievement and one not generally recognized throughout Canada.

In 1926 the Labour group received a notable addition in the person of A. A. Heaps, another Labour representative from Winnipeg and a citizen of vision and courage. Mr. Heaps had worked with Mr. Woodsworth on the Committee for the People's Forum in Winnipeg and also in the cause of Labour during the Winnipeg strike, so that his coming to Ottawa meant the renewing of an old and tried friendship and a continuance of their previous efforts.

* * * * *

At this point we shall digress for a moment and forget parliamentary affairs to follow Mr. Woodsworth on two of his rare holidays. As a usual thing he sets aside two or three weeks during the year for this purpose. In 1927, the Miners' Union carried on a Summer School at Canmore, a few miles east of Banff. Mr. Woodsworth had given a course of lectures on Industrial History and Social Welfare and remained on for two weeks. Of this he wrote:

The school over, my wife, the three younger boys and I are staying on for a fortnight's clear holiday The days are spent mostly on the trail or in

the hills catching up with some long neglected reading. What tramps! A long day's climb up Lady Macdonald. Very easy, we are assured, but quite strenuous enough for those whose muscles are trained only for the level city streets. But we're coming on! Think of tramping up through White-man's Pass, then following the Spray River down to Banff! And then doing Banff, winding up with hot baths in the Sulphur Springs and a couple of miles more walking to and from the railway station. Some twenty-two miles of a hike with long hours of fresh air and scenery.

Another holiday was of quite a different character and might more correctly be called a course in European affairs. In 1931 Mr. and Mrs. Woodsworth went abroad, twenty-five years after their first trip setting out again for England and the Continent. They remained one month in Geneva during the critical period of England's going off the gold standard, an event which caused uneasiness in the deliberations of the League of Nations and world-wide alarm amounting almost to panic. Mr. Woodsworth had been invited by the Secretariat of the League to act as "temporary collaborator" during the meetings of the Assembly. This gave him the privilege of a seat on the floor or in the gallery overlooking the Assembly and of hearing what was said by the leaders in the public life of Europe. Mrs. Woodsworth attended the Executive of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, meeting at the time at their headquarters in Geneva.

They next visited Vienna, where they observed the Socialist housing and health schemes, then Ger-

many, Russia and finally England. Here they came closely in touch with Parliamentary groups, particularly members of the Labour and Socialist parties. They remember with pleasure an evening spent with Gandhi in London and hearing that Servant of India give his version of the Indian situation.

The whole trip, lasting four months, was a unique experience and a revelation of the tragedy and terrible complexity of post-war conditions in Europe. The travellers returned to Canada with an intimate knowledge of the world situation; and a conviction that Canada cannot keep out of world affairs and that it would be the part of wisdom to work for international understanding.

We shall pause for another moment to catch a brief glimpse into Mr Woodsworth's life in Ottawa, apart from official duties. For many members and their families, social life at the Capital is a gay, fashionable and all-absorbing pastime, but receptions at Rideau Hall or dinner parties at the Chateau strike a note of harsh contrast in the mind of one who is closely in touch with the living conditions of many working-class families. Consequently Mr. Woodsworth has taken little part in these formal activities. He has endless contacts in Ottawa and many friends but he lives in almost Spartan simplicity, in this and in other respects keeping near those whom he represents.

In connection with living in Ottawa there is, however, one never failing delight—that is the wonder and beauty of the government buildings and the

loveliness of the surrounding country, with its easy flowing lines of hill and valley and its two majestic rivers, the Ottawa and the Gatineau. At any time of the day the view from the Peace Tower is magnificent but particularly so at twilight when the sun is setting and the circle of the hills is touched with colour. Mr. Woodsworth has come to know his Ottawa well and enjoys it all exceedingly. He makes an excellent guide.

His interests are grouped around two centres—his work and his home. Though in this sketch Mrs. Woodsworth is mentioned but rarely, she has been a strong and creative influence in every phase of the work in which her husband has been engaged. Outside her home life her greatest activity has been in women's work in the Labour Movement and in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

And the children? There are six of them. The eldest, Grace, now the wife of Angus MacInnis, M.P., of Vancouver South, is a linguist, and as keen on economics and politics as her father or husband. The second, Belva, is a teacher of home economics in Strathcona School, Vancouver, where the pupils represent some twenty-five nationalities, the majority being Orientals—a second 'All Peoples'. The third, Charles, a journalist, after several years' study at the London School of Economics and abroad, during the past year has given his services as his father's private secretary. The fourth, Ralph, an interne at the Winnipeg General Hospital, is completing his medical course. The two

younger boys, Bruce and Howard, are still in the University.

* * * * *

Returning to the scene of his labours, we shall now briefly indicate something of the work Mr. Woodsworth has accomplished on the floor of the House.

In his first parliamentary speech, March 14th, 1922, he spoke in part as follows: "Mr Speaker, our Labour group in this House is small and inexperienced, but we feel that we represent a section of the community that is of no small importance, and that in connection with the debate we should try as best we may to represent the thought of that section of the community on the various public questions which have come before the House." He then gave a masterly review of the economic situation across the country. From that day to this, his addresses have shown a consistently high intellectual and moral quality and have been a decided asset to the debates in the House. On occasion, with skill and daring he has lifted the discussion out of the realm of cheap oratory and party politics on to a plane of statesmanlike consideration for the welfare of the country. As far as Parliamentary style is concerned, he is considered one of the finest speakers in the House. A striking picture from his speech on the budget during the 1931 session comes to mind. He had been pointing out that "all but the very rich are to be taxed even more heavily and the very rich are to be relieved of a portion of their taxes." He comments: "Sometimes in the quiet

hours I have heard the horses of revolt come galloping, galloping, galloping . . ."

At each session of Parliament since 1922, the Labour members have presented and have succeeded in getting discussed questions of national importance, some relating to the particular needs of the working classes, others to fundamental changes in the economic system from the viewpoint of Socialism. This has had considerable influence, for it has meant that members have been challenged again and again to consider a socialist solution for national problems; and that parties as a whole and individual members have had to show where they stood on various issues, such as a minimum wage, on many of which they would prefer to keep a discreet silence. Reports of the debates soon found their way to home constituents and caused searchings of heart as to the views of the local member.

Beauharnois is, perhaps, an outstanding example. It is probably not generally known that on the initiative of Mr. Gardiner and the co-operating Independents this enormous financial racket was brought before the House and aroused public opinion to such an extent that the government was obliged to have an investigation. The Independents had two purposes—to show up the methods of exploitation of Big Business and to provide a telling argument for public ownership, or socialization of Canada's natural resources. Mr. Woodsworth, during the course of the debate said:

I do not think the public of Canada are informed either as to the facts or as to the great issues at

stake. . . . I submit that the whole matter should be given the most careful consideration. . . . We feel that it is in the interests of the public as a whole that this question be brought into the full light of publicity and that, if it is at all possible, this great waterway, with the enormous potential water-powers which it carries, shall be saved for coming generations in Canada.

It is not the fault of the Independent group that the Government lost a golden opportunity to restore to the Canadian people the ownership of this section of the St. Lawrence River.

STANDARD OF LIVING

In the House Mr. Woodsworth has continued all his earlier efforts to improve the standard of living of the workers. He can never forget the living conditions of the labouring classes in the North End of Winnipeg, in Vancouver or in other Canadian cities and towns which he has visited from time to time. He met at the outset, however, what seemed an insurmountable obstacle—there was no committee in which the workers' problems could be discussed, no machinery through which he could work. He proceeded to find a solution. At his earliest opportunity he brought in a motion that a standing committee on Industrial and International Relations should be set up, to which all such questions could be referred. This motion was accepted by Mr. King, a committee was established and it has been functioning ever since. To it, among other matters, have been referred Unemployment Insur-

ance, the Eight-Hour Day, a Minimum Wage, Civil Service Councils and Miss MacPhail's motion for International Scholarships. Since such committees have the assistance of experts and since committee reports must come back to the House for final consideration, it will readily be seen that members have discussed many questions of fundamental importance to the well-being of the workers of the country which would otherwise not have come to their attention and have learned certain facts about Canadian life which they would otherwise not have known.

One of the best studies made by this Committee was in connection with the Cost of Living Budgets, in 1926. A great many witnesses were called, among whom were professional social workers, who thus, probably for the first time, were able to present to a Committee of the House accurate facts on the living conditions of the workers and their families. The Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees also gave valuable records, the result of careful investigations. The information gathered by the Committee was printed in blue-book form, and thus made available to social workers, to members of universities, trade unions, government departments or to any others who might be interested. "This material supplied a new standard for the question of the cost of living in Canada and presented in available form the first thorough examination of the question from the standpoint of Canadian workers."¹⁰

¹⁰Foreword to *Labour's Case in Parliament*, published by The Canadian Brotherhood of Railroad Employees.

In 1926, before the House, Mr Woodsworth made a detailed analysis of the whole question of a legal minimum wage. This was familiar ground to him. His motion was: "That, in the opinion of this House, a wage sufficient to provide for a reasonable standard of living should constitute a legal minimum wage." He quoted from the Peace Treaty in regard to this matter. He pointed out that more and more the nations of the world were realizing the importance of such legislation. In several of the provinces in Canada it had already been adopted as far as women workers were concerned; if families received less than the minimum wage, the community had to make it up in the giving of relief, in payments to hospitals, in supporting prisons and penitentiaries, where people who fail to receive a wage sufficient to maintain a decent standard of living usually ended. He handled two chief objections. One came from the workers themselves, some of whom feared that a minimum would tend to fix wages and make progress difficult. His proposal, however, was not a minimum wage for each industry but a general basic wage below which an employer could not legally go. The second objection came from the owners of industry, namely that industry could not bear the burden. His answer to this was emphatic: a living wage ought to be a first charge on industry; if an industry could not afford decent living conditions for its employees it ought not to carry on business. Mr. Woodsworth concluded his whole argument by calling attention to the fact that from a business standpoint, as well as

from humanitarian considerations, it would be only wise if working men were given a living wage and thus more purchasing power to buy back what the factories were turning out.

OLD AGE PENSIONS

As a result of the Old Age Pensions Act, a considerable number of old people in Canada are now enjoying, even in the midst of the fear and strain of a period of depression, a sense of security and certain minimum comforts. Most socially-minded Canadians recognize the value of this piece of social legislation, perhaps not many know that it was the result of the idealism and skilful parliamentary work of the Labour members in the House. The story is as follows:

During the session of 1926 the Liberal party held office by only a slight majority, so that the Labour group, though few in number, could swing the vote one way or the other. For several years previously the Labour members had succeeded in getting Old Age Pensions discussed in Parliament and even studied and reported upon by a committee of the House, but no definite action had been forthcoming. But in 1926 the government's extremity was their opportunity, and this they made all haste to seize. They wrote the following letter to the Prime Minister, Mr. King:

DEAR MR. KING:

As representatives of Labour in the House of Commons, may we ask whether it is your intention to introduce at this session legislation with regard

to (a) Provision for the unemployed; (b) Old Age Pensions.

We are venturing to send a similar inquiry to the leader of the Opposition.

Yours sincerely,

J. S. WOODSWORTH

A. A. HAAR.

Mr Meighen, the leader of the Opposition, gave an unsatisfactory reply. Mr. King wrote that it was the intention of the government to introduce such legislation. The course to be taken by the Labour men was obvious.

In his reply to the Speech from the Throne Mr. Woodsworth read the letters from the party leaders, then expressed the Labour members' point of view thus:

It seems to me that we must be very grateful indeed that the peculiar combination of circumstances which we find existing in the House at this time has seemingly made it possible to place upon the statute books long over due legislation in the interests of some of the most needy but least influential elements of our population. . . . So long as the government is prepared to bring down legislation which commends itself to our judgment we must continue to support it.

The government faithfully carried out its promise. Against strenuous opposition the Bill passed the House of Commons, only to receive little sympathy in the Senate, where it was finally thrown out. However, by this time Old Age Pensions had become a leading and popular issue throughout the country, and when the next election came and the

Liberals were returned, the Bill was re-introduced, the Senate withdrew its opposition and on March 31st, 1927 the act was passed. Thus was achieved the first outstanding measure of social legislation to be enacted by the Dominion Parliament.

DIVORCE ACT

Perhaps Mr. Woodsworth's greatest triumph from a purely parliamentary point of view, although it also served a humanitarian purpose, is the Divorce Act, whereby Ontario courts have been given power to try the divorce cases of the province. It is generally recognized that this was perhaps the greatest triumph in years for a private member, playing almost a lone hand against the combined forces of the House. The story has its amusing side.

The procedure was that a committee of the Senate reviewed the cases first, then sent them to the House. It had become the custom for members to sponsor the divorce bills and then the House simply rushed them through quickly in groups without any discussion—a method which Mr. Woodsworth considered highly unethical. For days and weeks, in the face of cajolings, pleadings, threats and abuse, by insisting that each bill should be discussed individually, Mr. Woodsworth kept the issue before the House. He also made the members realize that there was no provision in the Divorce Act for the maintenance of wife and children. Immediately on the conclusion of the reading of each bill, he would arise and ask some such questions as: "Are

there any children?" or "Has any provision been made for the children?" As this course was persisted in throughout the session, needless to say Mr. Woodsworth was not extraordinarily popular!

The situation was, however, on another account, a serious one. The number of cases was increasing so that it was almost impossible for the Senate committee to get through its work. The Senate had protested against this condition of affairs and had given point to its protest by sending to the House a bill to establish a divorce court in Ontario. But none of the members gave proof of being in the least interested until finally Mr. Woodsworth agreed to sponsor it.

On the floor of the House he gave his reasons in part as follows:

I have in my desk the evidence relating to some sixty divorce cases, and I venture to say that no member of this House has read every bit of that evidence. . . . I frankly confess that I have not read the particulars relating to any one of these bills, and I know nothing whatever of the particular bill now before the House. I venture to say that nine-tenths of the members are in precisely the same position. . . . And yet we are asked to vote in favour of the bill.

I object to the present procedure because poor people cannot come to Ottawa to avail themselves of the divorce court here. It remains a privilege of the better-to-do, unless people happen to be located close to Ottawa. . . . Further, the poor man who is charged with being guilty of a crime that calls for divorce has no opportunity of defending himself. . . . I would say that in that case, and in

all these cases, we are making no provision whatever for alimony. . . . More serious still, there is no provision whatever in these cases—and we have forty-five of them before us in this list—for the maintenance of the children.

After a long-drawn-out struggle lasting for weeks, which would have vanquished any one with less perseverance and conviction than Mr. Woodsworth possesses, the Bill was passed. With its passage, divorce cases in the House of Commons are now confined to the comparatively few coming from the Province of Quebec and in Ontario women and children receive some consideration.

One of the senators, who had been very keen for the Bill's success, wrote thus to its sponsor:

MY DEAR MR. WOODSWORTH,—

Allow me to congratulate you on the successful issue of the Bill introduced by you in regard to conferring jurisdiction on the Court of Ontario to try divorce cases.

The success of this matter is entirely due to the courageous manner in which you have fought the question in the Commons. It was no easy task to overcome radical and religious prejudices that surround a Bill of this kind, and I am sure the country will appreciate your effort in this regard.

CHURCH UNION

A far too brief reference to this important national event. Mr. Woodsworth was a member of the Private Bills' Committee which considered the extensive evidence relating to "The Bill to incorporate The United Church of Canada." His address in the House was compact and impartial, his

earlier church associations giving him considerable background from which to draw his conclusions. With regard to the property, he pointed out that, although on the whole the division was exceedingly fair, more consideration might well be given to the rights of minorities in local churches.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH

Mr. Woodsworth has had plenty of proof, from experience and observation, that in times of depression there is danger of restrictions being placed upon the civil liberties of a people—liberties by which humanity has advanced. In such times freedom of speech and of assembly, freedom of the press and of minority groups is always exposed to attack. So it has been in Canada. During the Winnipeg strike it will be recalled that the Federal Government rushed through both Houses in less than an hour an amendment to the Immigration Act by which the Immigration Department was virtually given the authority of a judicial body and had power to deport, without a public trial, any person not born in Canada who was suspected of political crime. Mr. Woodsworth has dealt with this amendment and with Section 98 of the Criminal Code on many occasions. This has not been an altogether easy or pleasant task, for, as a result of his championship of free speech, he has frequently been accused of advocating the policies and defending the actions of the Communist party, with which he has no connection whatsoever.

In the session of 1933, in once more attempting

to have Section 98 removed from the statute books, he reviewed its history and commented

Let me say that a number of efforts have been made to have this section of the criminal code repealed. I introduced legislation along this line in 1922 and 1923. Mr McMaster, then the member for Brome, introduced a similar bill in 1925, and the Minister of Justice under the Liberal administration introduced bills repealing this section in 1926, 1928, 1929 and 1930. In 1929 the bill failed to pass the Senate by only three votes, so those who now speak so strongly against any one who would venture to repeal this section of the criminal code must remember that the matter has been very carefully discussed in this House again and again, and that it found favour with a majority of the members.

I am not a lawyer, but I have always been taught that a man is considered innocent until he is proven guilty. Here he is considered to be guilty unless he himself can prove he is innocent. I cannot see how we can justify legislation of that kind.

If my understanding is correct, the general spirit of British law is absolutely opposed to that kind of legislation. We have been taught that a man can be convicted only when he has actually committed some crime, but these men have not been convicted of any crime. They were convicted for holding a certain belief, and I say that is something quite new in British law.

Of the length to which officials will go when their judgment is destroyed by fear or prejudice and when they have the power of the government behind them, Mr Woodsworth had a unique opportunity to demonstrate to the members of Parliament

on a memorable occasion—one of the most tense and exciting in the whole of the 1926 session.

It was during the period of the Customs probe, at the moment when the Conservatives had brought in a motion of lack of confidence in the government and the fate of the Liberals was hanging by a thread. The House was packed. Mr. Woodsworth was speaking and was in fine debating form. Explaining his position he pointed out that the Bovin case had become a straight party issue and there was no chance in the heat of party debate of judging the matter on its merits; he hesitated to cast his vote against the government because he could not see that the Conservative party would be any improvement. He built up his argument point by point and with such logic and humour that almost before they realized it the Progressives, many of whom were opposing the Liberals on this issue, found themselves thumping their desks in unison with the Liberals opposite them. Continuing, Mr. Woodsworth began to read a document dating from the Winnipeg strike. Mr. Meighen, looking very uncomfortable, objected that this was out of order. The Speaker ruled in favour of Mr. Woodsworth. Mr. Meighen challenged the ruling of the Speaker; it was sustained by the House. Mr. Woodsworth then had a chance for which he had been waiting since 1919. He said:

I must remind the House that there was read only the other day in this House a telegram relating to those troubled times of 1919. On June 17, Mr. Meighen wired to Mr. Andrews:

"Notwithstanding any doubt I have as to the technical legality of the arrest and the detention at Stony Mountain,* I feel that rapid deportation is the best course now that the arrests are made, and later we can consider ratification."

There was no mistaking Mr. Woodsworth's point. His comment was brief. "It may be a serious thing, Mr. Speaker, to show leniency to a convicted criminal, but I submit that it is a great deal more serious to deny to an innocent man the right of trial."

BRITISH NORTH AMERICA ACT

Mr. Woodsworth knows how frequently time has effected a complete right-about-face in the national thinking; this is one of the reasons why superficial criticism of his ideas and policies has not turned him from the course which he has mapped out for himself. It is his fearless and persistent work for various reforms which have not been generally understood or accepted and so have aroused antagonism, that has brought him the reward of all prophets—the accusation of being a radical and a disturber of the *status quo*. Of this fact his efforts for the revision of the British North America Act, a revision which is now generally regarded as inevitable, provides an excellent illustration.

In 1925, in his address on the Speech from the Throne he said:

There is not the slightest doubt, however, that, as we tried to point out last year, there is an urgent need of a revision of the British North America Act Without laying blame on any one govern-

*The reference is to the arrest of the strike leaders.

ment, the fact is that our constitution, which was drawn up nearly sixty years ago, was framed at a time when conditions differed very fundamentally from the conditions that exist to-day. I am not reflecting in any sense whatever on the Fathers of Confederation when I state that some change is necessary. There is no doubt at all that they did the best they could to provide for the needs of their day; but their day is not our day, and if we wish to be true to them we must do in our day what they did in theirs—make such necessary changes as shall provide for the needs of our own times.

This plea brought practically no response but two years later he brought the question up again. On this occasion his motion elicited one of the outstanding debates of the session, above party conflict, in an atmosphere of thoughtful consideration for the welfare of the country. Mr Woodsworth's address was one of the finest he has delivered in the House, scholarly, forceful and courageous, while Mr. Guthrie, leader of the Opposition, Mr Cahan, Mr. Bourassa and Mr Lapointe, Minister of Justice, all spoke to the motion, unravelling the constitutional difficulties exceedingly well and at some length.

In 1931 again the question was discussed. Mr. Woodsworth in closing the debate said

It appears to me that we have indeed made a very great deal of progress in the last few years. I cannot but recall with some amusement that when I first introduced this question seven years ago one of the newspapers printed a fine cartoon in which the Canadian constitution was represented as a magnificent pillar, while the mover of the resolution was pictured as a tiny mosquito attempting to

undermine or break down that pillar. We have gone beyond that stage, and it is a great gain when we can seriously and dispassionately discuss a matter of this kind. . . . I wish to express my own personal gratitude to the members of the House for the very thoughtful and considerate way in which they have received my resolution to-night.

As a final summing up of Mr. Woodsworth's attitude on constitutional changes, one cannot, perhaps do better than quote from the C.C.F. Programme, Section 9

The amendment of the Canadian Constitution without infringing upon the racial or religious minority rights or upon legitimate provincial claims to autonomy so as to give the Dominion Government adequate powers to deal effectively with urgent economic problems which are essentially national in scope the abolition of the Canadian Senate.

REPARATIONS

Another instance of how times change is afforded by the waiving of the right to German reparations.

While Mr. Woodsworth was an undergraduate at Oxford, the Boer war was in progress and the question of England's participation was hotly debated in the University and in fact from one end of the country to the other. From that time to this he has been keenly alive to the complexity of international problems. In this realm the world is, perhaps, slowly and painfully learning that there are no "lesser breeds without the law," and that brotherhood, not a sentimental conception but a law of human relationships, is the only final solution. Many

people have now come to see that Europe's present troubles are largely the result of the injustices of the Versailles Treaty, and in particular of the reparation clause which required of Germany the payment of over fifty billions of dollars. This amount has been reduced by a succession of agreements—the London settlement, the Dawes plan, the Young plan, the Lausanne conference, and there is little evidence now that the money will ever be paid. Gradually the logic of spiritual and economic laws has worked itself out—the lack of brotherhood, in bitterness and hate; the lack of sound economic judgment, in the break-down of the present system.

In 1923, in all good faith, and believing in the efficacy of good will, Mr. Woodsworth introduced the following resolution: "That in the opinion of this House it is in the interest of world peace that Canada should withdraw all claims on Germany for reparations." In concluding his fine discourse, he said: "It seems to me that on an occasion of this kind we should try at least to rise above the passions and prejudices that have kept the peoples of Europe apart throughout these years . . . I would plead that the least we can do is to make what I have called a peace gesture and withdraw all claims to reparations from Germany."

Now, ten years later, this reads like the most obvious common sense, but at the time it aroused in the House of Commons a furor of patriotic emotion and personal denunciation. Mr. Woodsworth was described as belonging to a "peculiar group of economic freaks." Events have since shown that

his suggestion was not the result of unsound economy but the product of a mind trained to sane judgments.

The two old parties are still avoiding, in one way or another, the challenge of the proposals which Mr Woodsworth and the group he represents believe to be in the interest of Canada and of world recovery. Have not the last ten years already shown that, as in the case of reparations, many of these policies, which may be found clearly expressed in the C.C.F. Manifesto, are in line with the inevitable trend of world events; that there is only one choice—between national and world planning and national and world chaos?

THE BANKING SYSTEM

The members of the two old parties in the House have been to a large extent strangely indifferent to one of the most important of present-day problems—the control of financial credit. From the moment of his entrance into the House Mr. Woodsworth has emphasized the fact that this question is at the hub of our economic wheel and at the heart of our economic difficulties. He has tried to make clear the results of a system in which the banks of a country control its credit.

As early as 1923 he dealt with this subject during the discussion of the Bank Act:

. . . . the banks are seeking an immensely valuable public franchise; they are claiming the right to issue currency, a right that is given to no other private corporation. But, more than that, under

the Act they secure a virtual monopoly of the credit system of the country . . . Financial considerations . . . underlie all our industrial and commercial life. They are therefore closely related to the life of the people and cannot lightly be passed by.

In 1925 he made perfectly clear what he considers to be the only satisfactory remedy. His motion was "That in the opinion of this House it is not in the interests of the country at large that the privilege of issuing currency and of controlling financial credit should be granted to private corporations." In speaking to the motion he said

I recognize that it requires considerable temerity to bring forward a resolution of such a far reaching character as the one I have just moved. The House has considered from year to year for a good many years the tariff question in this country. Yesterday considerable time was devoted to the alleged North Atlantic combine. And yet I venture to say that this resolution strikes at a far more fundamental problem than either of these and one which, I venture to say, will in the future of Canada occupy a much more prominent position.

As so often, his forecast has proved true. In 1934, about ten years later, when the Revision of the Bank Act and the Act to incorporate the Bank of Canada were under consideration, the question of the financial system of Canada, and in particular the control of credit, was one of the most important subjects of debate throughout the whole session. It was thrashed out in the Banking Committee and also on the floor of the House. The co-operating Independents, believing in the public ownership of

the banks, presented their point of view in great detail, giving not only an analysis of the present financial situation in Canada with particular reference to the dangers of interlocking directorates, but also a historical survey of the development of the banking system, of banking legislation and of the function of money. The speakers for the group were Mr. Woodsworth, Mr. Coote, Mr. Spencer, Mr. Garland and Mr. Irvine. One doubts whether any other five members in the House could have handled this subject with such knowledge and skill.

For the Government, Mr. Rhodes, the Minister of Finance, presented a forceful argument for private ownership. Upon this Mr. Irvine commented:

May I also say that we have very highly appreciated the fine spirit which he exhibited and the courtesy which he extended to us in the debate. We just as frankly say to him that while we heartily disagree with the principle of private ownership of the financial institutions of Canada, nevertheless we realize, of course, that the government is perfectly sincere in giving us this legislation. . . . Judging the central bank solely as a private institution, the government has presented us with a most excellent bill. I think it is revolutionary in one or two of its aspects.

The central bank is to control all gold and the profits therefrom are to go into the coffers of the state. The central bank is to issue all currency and to have some measure of control over credit. All of these things are excellent as far as they go, and indicate that there is a tendency towards the financial policies which have been advocated for at least twelve years from this corner of the House.

Mr Spencer quoted from Mr Rhodes' address a statement which, strangely enough in this strangest of all possible worlds, is in line with the Capitalist code of ethics and yet from a moral point of view is the root of the objection of the Independents to private banks. Mr. Rhodes said in part

No purely profit-making institution operating in a competitive system can afford to place social interests before its own in regard to credit policy. This, I think, is obvious. Nor can the management of such a body be expected to regard the maintenance of the monetary standard, for example, as a duty prior to its obligations to its stockholders.

Mr Spencer added "It seems to me that puts the whole thing in a nutshell. How can we expect the banking fraternities, built up entirely as private corporations with the incentive of profit for the shareholders, to take a real interest in the public welfare as a first consideration?" In other words the fault lies not necessarily with the bankers, but with the system. Under the present system, the bank must look first to its own interest, regardless of the welfare of the people, or else it will fall by the wayside in the competitive race.

Mr Woodsworth took for his thesis what might be called, "The People Versus the Banking Fraternity," or "Democracy at the Cross Roads." His address was filled with apt historical parallels and a knowledge of the realities of the Canadian situation. His opening words, perhaps, reflected a feeling of weariness, of discouragement. Something of the fire and resonance of his earlier battles in the

House seemed to have departed. But this impression lasted only for a moment. As he warmed to his subject his arguments fell naturally into place and he built up a strong indictment against the private ownership of the banks. Quotations follow.

Mr Speaker, nothing less than the tremendous importance of this subject would warrant my attempting to add anything to what has been said already by my colleagues in this corner. One of the most difficult things which a member of this House can do is to attempt to bring before the House and the country his conviction with regard to matters of this kind. I notice that there are about thirty honourable members present in the House at this moment: there are two newspaper reporters in the gallery and a few odd visitors. Under such circumstances one might be inclined to say, "What is the use?" The government has a majority and has made up its mind with regard to this matter, and all that a private member can do is to talk, and it would not seem as if our talk had much prospect of reaching a wide public. But notwithstanding all this, I do not think that we should be performing our duty as representatives of the people unless we did our utmost to call attention to what we believe to be the real facts of the situation.

As I understand this bill, it is an attempt to maintain the *status quo* of the banks. I believe that gradually throughout the country the realization is growing that we are not in reality a democracy but are controlled by a very small oligarchy. Any one who listened to the reading of the long lists of interlocking directorates must realize that the small group of men who control our banks—there are only ten banks in this country—also control con-

related financial institutions. They also control the main industrial and commercial concerns in this country. A great many of these selfsame men are on our leading educational institutions, our universities; they control our press, and so on. . . . And I think that any one who has sat here for a number of years will reach this conclusion by watching the legislation—these same men to a very large degree control the policies of this House. We have therefore what is coming to be an impossible situation. We in this House go through the forms of granting power already held, and the banks will go on feeling quite sure in their position of deciding the destinies of this country.

Moreover we must remember that our banking system operates frankly in the interests of the commercial classes, and of certain of the commercial classes at that. Mention has already been made to-day of the fact that there is not adequate provision for the granting of credit to farmers. So far as the great mass of the labour people of the country are concerned there is no hope of their getting consideration from the banks. If a poor man wants even to buy a little furniture and has not the ready cash, he has now to resort to one of the small loan companies which charge him an exorbitant rate of interest. . . .

Mr Woodsworth concluded his case with a statement regarding the different kinds of money and then showed how the banks are enabled to give credit and how they control in part at least the price level.

. . . . that being the situation, the banks have a tremendous power in their hands. They can practically create money, give that money to their direc-

tors or to their friends, and withhold it from their competitors; they can lend it where it may bring the largest return to the shareholders of the bank, and withhold it when it is asked for undertakings that are of most advantage to the public. The control of credit ought not to be allowed to remain any longer in the hands of private corporations, but rather should be regarded as a public utility.

A summary of Mr Woodsworth's views with regard to Finance would be found to coincide fairly accurately with Article 2 of the C.C.F. Manifesto.

Socialization of all financial machinery—banking, currency, credit, and insurance to make possible the effective control of currency, credit and prices, and the supplying of new productive equipment for socially desirable purposes.

* * * * *

From this résumé of his Parliamentary years it is evident that as in his social work so in Parliament Mr. Woodsworth has played the difficult role of pioneer. He has kept the needs of the labouring classes before the members of the House and has tried to bring before them the possibilities of a more just, social and economic system, in the life of which all the citizens will share, not excluding the Cape Breton miner, the Quebec lumberman or the British Columbia fisherman. Inducements have been offered to him to follow other causes, but he can neither be bought nor turned from his course.

Feeling his responsibility as a private member with regard to matters of national well-being, he has tried, not in vain, to break through the deadly atmosphere of the House of Commons where party

control stifles individual initiative and where the well-established rules of the political game make idealism seem ridiculous. He has not only brought in resolutions along progressive and more humane lines but has also turned the thinking of members of Parliament toward new lines of national action. One who knows him well feels that his greatest quality is, perhaps, his balance; he has met with failure and with success, with criticism and with praise, he is not overmuch cast down by the one nor too much elated by the other.

4. THE CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH FEDERATION

On May 26th, 1932, an important meeting of the co-operating Independents, unheralded and unannounced, nevertheless of historic significance to Canada, took place in Room 607 in the House of Commons. If the practice continues, according to which long-suffering school children memorize the dates of historic events, future generations of young Canadians will, in all likelihood, learn this date, as marking the beginning of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation.

An extract from the minutes of the meeting reads as follows:

Much consideration was given to the matter of Dominion organization.

A motion was moved and seconded that a committee be formed to consider ways and means of carrying out the wishes of the Group as expressed during the discussion—that is, drafting a tentative plan of organization for future action thereon. Carried.

Moved by D. M. Kennedy, seconded by A. MacInnis, that J. S. Woodsworth and R. Gardiner be a committee with power to add to their numbers.

The meeting adjourned at 3.40 p.m.

A. SPEAKMAN, *Chairman*.

HENRY E. SPENCER, *Secretary*.

The idea of organizing on a Dominion wide scale is obviously the only new feature in this proceeding. Most, if not all, of the ideas and policies which were soon to form the official programme of the C.C.F. had been advocated by Mr. Woodsworth and the members of this group ever since their entrance into the House. Some of the members have kept up a steady barrage of socialist principles within the House for as many as twelve years; some throughout the country for an even longer period. The formation, then, of a third political organization, in which members of Farmer and Labour groups and of the business and professional classes could unite to make these ideas effective in the national field, was the culmination of a long process of education, and not a spasmodic effort or a momentary flare of enthusiasm.

Following the meeting in Ottawa, the members returned to their own organizations in Western Canada. Four successive conferences of their various groups were held, in each of which national organization was discussed.

The first conference, that of the United Farmers of Alberta, met in Edmonton at the end of June, 1932. Already in a succession of annual gatherings, the U.F.A. had been moving toward the acceptance

of a programme involving fundamental changes in the present economic system. The members now embodied their conclusions in a ten-point manifesto and invited any other groups with similar aims to join with them for political action.

The second conference, that of the United Farmers of Canada (Saskatchewan section) and the Independent Labour Party of Saskatchewan, was held in Saskatoon in July. Meeting at first separately, they later united their forces in a joint session, where they reached the decision to act together politically but to retain their separate identity. A programme was drawn up along the lines of the Alberta Manifesto.

Next came the Calgary Conference in August, at first confined to the Labour and Socialist parties of the Western provinces, then joined by representatives from the two previous conferences. A provisional National Council was set up, of which Mr. Woodsworth, by the unanimous vote of the delegates, was elected President. A tentative programme was adopted; plans were laid for Dominion wide organization and for the first Annual Convention of the Federation, to be held at Regina in July of the following year, 1933.

It was not to be expected that the significance of the new movement would be at once recognized. The Canadian press, almost without exception, all during this formative period either completely ignored the new Federation or emphasized not its achievements but its divisive elements. Moreover, many of those who do not yet see that the present competi-

tive, individualistic system, although still functioning in Canada, must inevitably give way before a more humane and efficient one, kept on believing that farmers and industrial workers had never, could never, would never realize that their interests were similar and part of the larger national life, and so co-operate for their own and the common welfare; and certainly business and professional men and women would never move from their old and familiar individualistic position. Again, the slow-moving Maritimes, self-centred Ontario, and the materialistic West had always presented a clash of interests which could never be harmonized in a national movement.

Now, however, appeared another irrefutable proof of the onward march of events. For the purpose of studying political, social or economic questions from a national point of view, C.C.F. clubs have sprung up from one end of the country to the other. They have also given members of the business and professional classes an opportunity to join with organized Labour and Farm groups for political action. Thus co-operation and the waking-up of "the average citizen" to the importance of a study of national problems continues.

Another indication of the trend of political thought in Canada at this time is evident in the founding of the League for Social Reconstruction in January, 1932. Two groups of citizens, drawn chiefly from the professional classes and including University professors, teachers, social workers, doctors, nurses, accountants and others, had been

meeting, the one in Toronto and the other in Montreal, to discuss problems and policies of national importance. The League was the result of their common conviction that the present system is unjust and inefficient and their common belief that education along social and economic lines and research into Canadian problems were critical, national needs of the moment. Although the members decided not to affiliate with the C.C.F., believing that they could exert a stronger influence by acting independently, the League, nevertheless, has definite political objectives clearly in harmony with those of the Federation; and the series of pamphlets prepared under League auspices, on such subjects as "Social Reconstruction and the B.N.A. Act," has been invaluable for use in C.C.F. clubs and for individual study. The most important contribution of the L.S.R. to the Federation up to date is, perhaps, the giving of expert assistance in drafting the C.C.F. Manifesto, already widely recognized as an outstanding political document.

Mr Woodsworth was asked to become the Honorary President of the League. This honour he has greatly appreciated and the help of this group has given him more than ordinary satisfaction. Knowing what the Webbs and men like G. D. H. Cole and Harold Laski have meant to the advancement of British political thought and action, he has been looking forward to the time when the trained and educated minds in Canada would give a similar leadership. During his first year in the House in 1922, in one of his weekly articles he wrote "I am

firmly convinced that one of these days we will in this country, as in other countries, receive valuable reinforcements from our Universities." He believes further that only under a socialist system can the experts bring their knowledge to bear for the general welfare rather than for private profit.

The Regina gathering, the first Annual Convention of the C.C.F., proved the acid test of the Federation's ability and right to survive and develop as a national movement. There were in attendance one hundred and thirty-five delegates, a large proportion of them women, from six of the nine provinces of the Dominion, the Maritimes alone being unrepresented. The whole country watched their deliberations with interest, wondering whether the Federation would weather the storm of varying interests and divergent points of view. The Canadian press, at last realizing that the C.C.F. was news, reported the convention as they would have done that of one of the major parties. Front page publicity for the new movement in all the leading newspapers—without the expense of a campaign fund! As Mr. Woodsworth remarked: "We began without a dollar—and we have almost held our own."

Mr. Woodsworth was unanimously and enthusiastically elected President of the Convention, the election being a recognition of his unremitting championship of principles similar to those now embodied in the C.C.F. programme. In his presidential address he said:

. . . . The C.C.F. is undoubtedly a movement of protest born of the discontent of our time; a dis-



THE CHAIRMAN OF THE CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH FEDERATION
Cartoon by ASKE DALE.

gust at the inefficiency of the old parties, and the inadequacy of their policies. But it must be recognized that a merely negative position will get us nowhere. We must develop both a philosophy of life and a constructive programme. Thanks to the pioneers in the Socialist and Co-operative movements, we have at least the fundamental principles on which we may base our teaching with regard to the Co-operative Commonwealth. We do not believe in unchanging social dogma. Society is not static. Knowledge grows, and each age must work out a new and higher synthesis. Such growing knowledge is dependent upon experience and action.

Perhaps it is because I am a Canadian of several generations, and have inherited the individualism common to all born on the American continent, yet with political and social ideals profoundly influenced by British traditions and so-called Christian idealism, further with a rather wide and intimate knowledge of the various sections of the Canadian people—in any case, I am convinced that we may develop in Canada a distinctive type of Socialism. I refuse to follow slavishly the British model or the American model or the Russian model. We in Canada will solve our problems along our own lines. We have a goodly heritage, not only in natural resources but in pioneer traditions and social equipment. If we have the spirit of our fathers we can overcome the difficulties even of our complex modern world.

The C.C.F. advocates peaceful and orderly methods. In this we distinguish ourselves sharply from the Communist party, which envisages the new social order as being ushered in by violent upheaval and the establishment of a dictatorship. The decision as to how Capitalism will be overthrown may of course not lie in our hands. Continued bungling

ing and exploitation, callous disregard of the need and sufferings of the people, and the exercise of repressive measures may bring either a collapse, or riots, or both. But in Canada we believe it possible to avoid the chaos and bloodshed which in some countries have characterized economic and social revolutions.

We are confident that we are in the line of progress—that time and tide are with us. If our movement is to be successful it must bear—as we think it does—something of the character of a religious crusade. Only thus can we overcome the danger of being swayed by personal ambition or by the hope of immediate success. Only thus can we rally the masses to struggle for a better future for themselves and their children.

Before us lies a great opportunity. May we be equal to our task!

The sessions were fraught with momentous possibilities. Mr. Woodsworth and Mr. Garland divided the onerous task of chairmanship between them and eyewitnesses describe their leadership as a masterly handling of an extremely delicate situation, in which one false move would have split the assembly into opposing camps. Gradually, however, as hour after hour the delegates sat around the long tables listening to various viewpoints, policies clarified. There came a rejection of violence, the Marxian revolutionary procedure, as a means of establishing the new social order. Smaller issues fell away, sectional differences and group antagonisms slipped into the background, doctrinaire theories of various "wings" made little impression—all these were subordinated to a frank recognition of

the need of considering Canadian problems from a national point of view.

The deliberations finally resulted in the almost unanimous acceptance of a fourteen point Manifesto, expressing C C F policies with regard to major national problems. A paragraph from the preamble gives a hint of the whole:

The new social order at which we aim is not one in which individuality will be crushed out by a system of regimentation. Nor shall we interfere with cultural rights of racial or religious minorities. What we seek is a proper collective organization of our economic resources such as will make possible a much greater degree of leisure and a much richer individual life for every citizen.

This social and economic transformation can be brought about by political action, through the election of a government inspired by the ideal of a Co-operative Commonwealth and supported by a majority of the people.

Cannot the Regina convention be justly described as a triumph of Canadian citizenship? It will be remembered that the delegates included, not professional politicians, but citizens with roots deep down in Canadian life, some of whom have been leaders in the economic, social or political life of the Dominion for more than a quarter of a century. Again, Canada has always had so-called national parties but never before a national movement with a coherent philosophy and a clearly defined policy for the whole country; now such a movement is an accomplished fact. Finally, at Regina, the various groups got away from the futile bunniness of de-

manding immediate concessions from the government and declared for a far-reaching policy of socialization, national in scope and Canadian in character.

This first convention over, driven largely by its own momentum and the astonishing development of local leadership, the C.C.F. has gone steadily forward. There has been little opportunity for campaigning on any great scale on the part of the National Executive, as the members are all busy people, bearing heavy responsibilities. Some five of them, Mr. Woodsworth, Mr. Gardiner, Mr. Irvine, Mr. Garland and Miss MacPhail have carried forward a steady educational propaganda and have done a certain amount of organizing as opportunity arose. Mr. Woodsworth took one trip down through the Maritimes and then went West to help in the Mackenzie by-election in Saskatchewan—the first occasion in the province in which a candidate stood for the Federation. The C.C.F. was unsuccessful but polled some 33 per cent. of the vote, showing a definite new trend in public opinion in that province. In the B.C. provincial election the C.C.F. helped in sweeping the Conservatives almost completely out of the House, gaining seven seats and the position of official Opposition, and again polling about a third of the votes.

Two events which at the moment seemed insurmountable difficulties have in the end served to clarify the issues in the mind of the general public and to consolidate the C.C.F. forces. The one was in Quebec where Archbishop Gauthier issued a pam-

phlet attempting to show the incompatibility of Roman Catholicism and the C.C.F. This brought immediate replies from Mr. Woodsworth and some of the Quebec leaders, who pointed out that this was not the case, using as a basis of proof quotations from the encyclical of Pope Pius XI. The other was in Ontario, where the Communist party had managed to secure a place in the Labour groups and C.C.F. clubs. This resulted in Mr. Woodsworth, as chairman of the National Executive, calling a conference in Toronto. Here the question of policy was fought through in a most strenuous and exciting session, ending in the reorganization of the Provincial Council to admit only those organizations and clubs which pledged their unqualified support to the C.C.F. programme. This memorable session ended with a banquet in the King Edward Hotel attended by 250 C.C.F. members. Mr. Woodsworth gave the address of the evening, on the position of the C.C.F., which was broadcasted.

In June, 1934, the C.C.F. entered two other provincial contests, one in Ontario and the other in Saskatchewan. Mr. Woodsworth went West for two weeks to help in the Saskatchewan campaign. There, although only five seats were won, the C.C.F. became the official Opposition, more important was the intensive educational campaign.

On the results in Ontario, Dr. Salem Bland comments

The future historian may well see the advent of the C.C.F. as the most significant feature of this election. Only to the superficial eye will its achieve-

ment seem slight. It is true that of thirty-seven candidates it only succeeded in electing one, but that, without any money except the small gifts of the unwealthy, the poor, no press, and an inexperienced organization, it polled many thousands of votes, almost rivalling in some instances and in one case surpassing one or the other of the old parties should cause and will cause old-school politicians to think furiously. . . . altogether to me it seems extremely likely that this is the last old-fashioned election contest Ontario will ever know. Party loyalty has long been on the wane in this intelligent province. . . . Before the next provincial election will normally have arrived real issues will have crowded personalities off the stage. . . . So behind the old familiar parties looms up the dim outline of a different sort of party, which the old political managers do not understand and cannot control.

The national organization held its second Annual Convention in Winnipeg, in July, 1934, with an attendance of more than 100 delegates and 150 visitors. The Regina convention had succeeded in evolving a long range and inclusive programme for a Co-operative Commonwealth in Canada. This was re-endorsed at Winnipeg, without amendment. In addition, the delegates, feeling the need of a shorter programme as a basis for immediate action, outlined four main objectives dealing with (1) The socialization of all banking and financial machinery, including the Central Bank, (2) the security of agriculture, (3) conditions of labour, (4) Canadian neutrality in the next war.

.

Leaving the national movement, we shall now turn to Mr. Woodsworth's efforts in connection with the C.C.F. in the House of Commons. In three successive sessions he has brought to the attention of the members of the House the question of the setting up in Canada of a Co-operative Commonwealth, in which the rights of human beings will take precedence over the rights of property. On the first occasion, in 1932, this motion was considered hopelessly academic and idealistic and received only half-hearted attention from a poorly filled House. By the following year, however, the C.C.F. had been organized, which fact radically altered the situation. While the motion was being discussed, almost every member was in his seat and listening with attention. The resolution was under discussion at five sittings and no fewer than twenty-seven members expressed their views. On February 5th, 1934, for the third time, Mr. Woodsworth was able to explain the C.C.F. programme, in particular the carefully considered manifesto agreed upon at the Regina Convention.

One is driven to the conclusion that the skilful presentation of C.C.F. policies and the educational work which Mr. Woodsworth and the co-operating Independents have carried on for many years past have been contributing and important factors in the astonishing move towards socialism, which now every day throughout the country and in Parliament becomes more and more evident. The depression has caused the Canadian people, including Members of Parliament, to think freshly on national

problems and to seek new solutions away from an unregulated competitive system; but the direction in which the House of Commons and, perhaps it is not too much to say, the country as a whole is now moving is due, in part at least, to the persistent, disinterested presentation by the members of the Independent group of socialist principles and policies.

The trend can be seen in innumerable instances, frequently in unexpected places. A leading Vancouver paper of August 1st, 1933 thus comments on an address which Mr. Woodsworth gave to the Vancouver Rotary Club on "The Significance of the C.C.F.": "When a renowned Socialist leader gets up and talks to a group of Canadian business and professional men as Mr. Woodsworth did on Tuesday to the Vancouver Rotary Club and is received by them with the earnest attention and the applause which greeted Mr. Woodsworth it can be taken for granted that Socialism has arrived in Canada."

In 1932, Mr. Bennett, in introducing the bill for the nationalizing of radio, said:

I believe that there is no government in Canada that does not regret to-day that it has parted with some of those natural resources for considerations wholly inadequate and on terms that do not reflect the principles under which the Crown holds the natural resources in trust for all the people. In view of these circumstances and of the further fact that broadcasting is a science that is only yet in its infancy and about which we know little yet, I cannot think that any government would be warranted in leaving the air to private exploitation and not

reserving it for development for the use of the people.

Again, more recently, in the 1934 session, an even more remarkable statement from Mr Bennett in his speech on the Marketing Act

(The honourable gentleman has said that this is socialism. . . If it is socialism, then I plead guilty to having been a supporter of it for many long years. I cannot think that there is anything offensive in calling it socialism, if you mean that the force and power of the parliament of Canada is to be utilized to enable those who live within provincial boundaries and have organized themselves into units, to promote their material efforts and to get something for the toil they give. You may call it anything you like, but at least it is sound legislation which promotes it.

The Stevens Commission, the Central Bank Act and the Marketing Act of 1934 all show similar tendencies. Mr Woodsworth, in speaking to the Marketing Act, pointed out its implications "I should like to point out that this measure involves far reaching political consequences. I take it that by introducing this legislation the Conservative party is definitely committed to extending government control over industry." And he continues. "The trouble is that the present legislation . . . is a bit of socialism introduced into the capitalist system, and possibly we should remember the scriptural admonition against the sewing of a new patch on an old garment."

One of the most far-seeing and notable utterances in this regard has come from Mr. Cahan, Secretary of State. During the 1932 session he said:

I have passed the age of three score years and ten, and I appreciate very keenly that my mentality, my prejudices and my predilections are born of the times in which I have lived and the vicissitudes of my own personal life—but I do not look forward with any fear or shrinking to the development of socialistic institutions in this country on a proper basis. Those who are younger than I may well look forward to a time when those whose views are more socialistic than mine will assume the reins of government in this country. . . . In that democracy, although I shall not live to see its development, I have the strongest possible confidence.

* * * * *

This sketch is drawing to a close but Mr. Woodsworth's efforts continue, as do the efforts of all men and women of good will who are sincere in their desire for a new social order, where poverty and insecurity, for which in a land of plenty there is no excuse, will no longer be tolerated. At the moment the C.C.F. is a powerful force directing its energies toward that end, but to Mr. Woodsworth and to many of its members the goal and not any particular means is the important matter. Eventually Canadians will repudiate an economic system in which one class is exploited by another. Whether through the C.C.F. or by some other means, probably by many forces for good working together, a more just system will evolve, based on consideration for the well-being of all Canadian citizens, even the least. Believing that this ideal is possible of achievement, Mr. Woodsworth has worked for its realization against heavy odds, from the beginning of his career.

It requires spiritual insight to cut below the surface of contemporary politics to the bed-rock of eternal principles; vision to see a new system taking shape on the ruins of the old; the creative imagination of the artist to embody that mental picture in outward and visible form. It requires something of the courage of the pioneer to attempt to bring that new system into operation, to enter upon new and untried ways and to meet the obstacles of old, conventional modes of thought, dignified by time and enshrined in the places of honour in the policies and conduct of the state. That Mr. Woodsworth belongs to the goodly company of those who possess a measure of these qualities, and of those who place their gifts at the service of humanity, the past forty years of his life, devoted to the tasks of Canadian citizenship, bear witness.

There is a little incident in his life described and interpreted in his own words with which this sketch will close.

Last summer I spent a month in a little mountain town in the Rockies. For me, the most interesting individual in the community was Lawrence Grassi, an Italian maner. . . .

In the course of a prolonged strike, instead of loafing about the village, he set off into the hills, axe on shoulder, to make trails to points of interest. It was a labour of love. He loved the mountains, but enjoyed having others share their beauties. So, day by day he pushed through the bush, discovering the best ways of approach—blazing the trail, cutting out the undergrowth, grubbing out stones and roots, bridging little mountain streams, hollowing

out a basin for a sulphur spring, erecting ladder stairs over a difficult cliff, safeguarding a dangerous precipice, placing seats on jutting lookouts that commanded a view of valley and falls, building a rude out-of-doors fireplace at a delightful camping ground; even placing a serviceable raft on a little lake in the Pass so that the clearness and wonderful colouring of its waters could be better appreciated than cutting a zigzag path up and up through grassy slopes and among huge boulders, and on, into the green timbers until it emerged on the pony trail at Whiteman's Pass!

Again and again we climbed Grassi's trail until Grassi became for us a symbol—and an inspiration. One day my wife and I left our boys to play at the lakes. When we returned they had dammed up a little stream, making a tiny new lake. This they had cleared of branches and floating debris. For hours they had worked! As we approached, one of them called gaily, "We're Grassi in the making." Grassi had done more than build a trail; he had effectively taught a way of life.

The world needs Grassi. In the realm of the spirit, in the search after truth, in the field of social relationships, in economics, in politics, in international affairs, we need trail makers—men who will seek new paths; make the rough places smooth; bridge the chasms that now prevent human progress; point the way to higher levels and loftier achievements.

THE END



NI 40810495 HSS



-000032282014-

DATE DUE SLIP

Dire Rufb	MAR 03 '94
	MAR 12 RETURN
1 Dire Rufb	MAR 22 '94
	MAR 21 RETURN
LARGE RUTH	OCT 6 1995
	DEC 5 1997 RETURN
	RETURN DEC 01 '99
	RETURN OCT 26 '00
	RETURN JAN 25 '01
	RN

